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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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24 FEBRUARY 1989

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**Estonian Republic Aktiv Meets With Chebrikov**  
18000228a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 16 Nov 88 pp 2, 3

[ETA report: "Different Points of View, Common Goal"]

[Text] A very businesslike, frank and party-principled discussion was held at a meeting between representatives of the republic's party, soviet, economic management, and ideological aktiv and members of the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Estonia, and CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The speakers expressed different points of view on the situation which has developed in this republic and its causes, and proposed their own solutions to the problems. But everybody was unanimous on one thing, the main point: only a responsible attitude toward words and deeds, only mutual respect and trust, only consolidation [konsolidatsiya] of all persons sincerely desiring perestroika, on the basis of the positions formulated by the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, in full conformity with the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, can lead to success and are in conformity with the hopes and aspirations of all persons living in Estonia.

"We are presently going through a time of tested, verified, and critically important decisions," stated M. Bronshteyn, chairman of the department of political economy at Tallinn State University. "The time has come for us to formulate a clear-cut policy pertaining to implementation of the resolutions of the 19th Party Conference, our 11th Plenum, and the program of consolidation of all forces advocating and supporting perestroika.

"I am a native of Leningrad, and Russian is my native language, but I have been living in Estonia for a third of a century now. I understand and sympathize with the aspirations of the Estonian people.

"The program of consolidation can proceed only from realities. One must understand that the movements presently taking place, with all their excesses, also reflect the realities and conflicts which have developed throughout the country as a whole. Perestroika began precisely for the purpose of resolving these contradictions and conflicts. Opposition to and confrontation with centralism and struggle against ministerial dictate and against a system of administrative fiat is in progress throughout the country.

"Any economic and social phenomenon in a national republic is superimposed onto national soil. The national rebirth movement links its aspirations with the course of policy toward political and economic democratization articulated at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

"In the national republic, when the actions of all-union ministries and agencies lead to the destruction of productive resources and when the indigenous population is unsure about the future, this uncertainty and lack of confidence feeds extremism to a certain degree. But this is a result of unsupervised, uncontrolled actions by those same ministries and agencies. If they only benefited the country, if we only were to obtain a developed economy! But their actions are also destroying productive resources in the country as a whole. Herein lies the basis for unity in the struggle against a system of administrative fiat and against changes in centralization. But this by no means signifies that our interests do not lie in a unified, integrated economic system and in operating within the framework of nationwide division of labor."

M. Bronshteyn further noted that very determined opposition and resistance have now emerged, with the drafting of amendments to the Constitution, a number of points of which undermine the sovereignty of the republic. "But it is wrong to reject the entire draft document as a whole, since it also contains provisions which are fully satisfactory both to the republic and to the position of IME.

"One must bear in mind that, in spite of the fact that many decisions are wrong and unlawful, one must understand the realities: 40 percent of the residents of Estonia are Russian-speaking. Any policy of oppression, be that policy direct or concealed, any attempts to infringe the rights of these people will provoke strong resistance, which we have encountered today. Every unconsidered statement and demand leads to such resistance and confrontation. Communists must bear full responsibility for their words, public statements, and actions."

M. Bronshteyn further stressed the importance of consolidation of forces. "All persons residing in the republic should proceed from the primacy of the national interests of the Estonian people. If we Communists fail to support these aspirations, we shall isolate ourselves from the Estonian people. But at the same time we must proceed from a position of full equality of rights of all citizens residing in this republic."

M. Bronshteyn concluded his statements with a detailed discussion of the problems of regional economic accountability [khozraschet].

"Why is it that such an unpleasant situation has arisen precisely here in Estonia and throughout the Baltic? Why is the same situation not occurring in the other republics and regions? These questions are asked frequently," stated E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn City Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. "And frequently there is the implication that a devotion to bourgeois nationalism characterizes all Estonians. I believe that if we set aside emotions and unfounded



opinions, we must acknowledge that the course of perestroika cannot be identical everywhere. Many factors are involved: economic, social, and historical. And conditions are different in different republics and even different cities."

E.-A. Sillari further noted that perestroika as a revolutionary process cannot proceed without contradictions and conflicts. "In the future complications may arise in other republics. Perhaps they will be different from ours, but they certainly will occur, for we are traveling along an untrodden path and have practically no experience in building the new. We should therefore not excessively dramatize the situation, nor should we underestimate it.

"The weight of accumulated problems is particularly heavy in Tallinn," continued E.-A. Sillari. "For example, the 'mechanical' growth [net gain from population influx minus outflow] of the population of this republic's capital is by no means imaginary; it is a serious problem. Our city has become, figuratively speaking, a grand concourse. Every year 18,000 persons arrive, and 14,000 persons leave. We are number three in the country in these figures. In our opinion both economic and administrative measures must be taken in this matter."

E.-A. Sillari spoke in detail about the need for pluralism of opinions and for considering different points of view. One should also organize one's work efforts proceeding from this.

Stating that the republic party organization was trailing behind political events, E.-A. Sillari emphasized: "We have lost a fine opportunity to unite the republic's entire population behind the idea of regional economic accountability, for it promises in the future a rise in overall living standards, and consequently all ethnic strata had to be in favor of it. But we failed to explain to the Russian-speaking population what stands behind the words 'economic independence' and 'sovereignty.' We were unable to convince them that this by no means signifies secession from the USSR."

E.-A. Sillari discussed matters connected with the emergence and existence of various public movements [obshchestvennyye dvizheniya] and their causes. He called upon consolidation by all, noting thereby that unfortunately appeals at the present time remain mere slogans. It is necessary to sit down at the negotiating table, to find compromises, those common points of support which can become a basis for joint actions.

"The Popular Front's [Narodny Front] excellent idea to raise the self-awareness of the Estonian people and the entire population has been carried virtually to the point of absurdity," stated A. Say, member of the Coordinating Council [Koordinatsionny Sovet] of the International Movement [International'noye Dvizheniye]. "The

first declarations published in the press contained tendencies of national separatism and ethnic isolation. This is the main reason why the Russian-speaking population did not join the Popular Front."

A. Say stated that everything began with the joint plenum of unions of creative artists. The disgraceful word "migrant" [inigrant] was stated at that plenum. Then the press also chimed in. The terms "migrant" and "occupation" [okkupatsiya—military occupation] as well as abusive attacks directed at the Russian-speaking population took tenacious hold in the newspapers. All this could not help but foster interethnic discord.

A. Say asked why the Estonians of Estonia treat so poorly 80 percent of the working class, 91 percent of construction workers, and 75 percent of transport workers, who are taking part in generating our national income.

A. Say emphasized that we have every possibility of avoiding confrontation between the Russian-speaking and Estonian-speaking population. To accomplish this, there should be an end to tendentious interpretations of the position and actions both of the International Movement and of the Joint Council of Workforces [Obyedinnennyi sovet proizvodstvennykh kollektivov]. The mass media should present well thought-out reflections on the amendments to the USSR Constitution, and not only spokesmen for the Popular Front but also for the International Movement and the Joint Council of Workforces should have the opportunity to express their views in the print media. The opportunity for normal conduct of discussion and debate should be offered to all public organizations and movements. A. Say also expressed the request that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and Comrade V. Vyalyas personally take measures to steer the mass media onto a right-minded Leninist path.

"I am not entirely sure that we can draw a precise, clear-cut line of delimitation between the two movements: the Popular Front on the one hand and the International Movement on the other," stated E. Pyldroos. "This would greatly simplify the picture. If we drew such a line, and placed the International Movement on one side of the line, not only the Popular Front would be positioned on the other side, but also the MRP and other such extremist movements. The Popular Front is positioned somewhere between them, on the middle ground. If we consider political agenda, the Popular Front generally supports the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, while one notes that the International Movement has recently launched rather sharp attacks on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and its policies."

E. Pyldroos noted that in his opinion the main problem lies not in the "quarrel" between the International Movement and the Popular Front; considerably greater concern is aroused by the fact that there has been occurring a movement of people toward extremes. "The

reason for this is that many of our problems have gone on for years without resolution, that people have lost all hope and faith that they can be resolved, and people are attempting to find solutions through extremism." E. Pyldroos referred to A. Say's statements, citing them as an example of how all problems are carried over onto ethnic soil. Obviously irresponsible statements have been made on both sides. They deserve condemnation. "That is our main reason for concern. But if people do not want to see the constructive line which is a principal line taken by our print media, and is the principal line taken in our common activities, but wish to see only the darker sides, then one can say that we are not doing a good job."

E. Pyldroos stated that he was by no means in agreement with the claims by the International Movement to represent the entire non-Estonian-speaking population of Estonia. He stated that recently he has had the opportunity to meet with a fair number of Russian-speaking groups, and the majority of these groups displayed very kindly sentiments.

In conclusion E. Pyldroos added that he had just learned that he had been elected to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. He had been elected in a district with a principally Russian-speaking population. In spite of counter-propaganda by the International Movement, he was elected by the votes of Russian speakers. Although the problem is complicated and acute, it is not hopeless. E. Pyldroos stressed that the conflicts are not as deep as some attempt to claim.

"I am a member of the Joint Council of Workforces and am a member of its organizing committee," stated V. Yarovoy, general manager of the Dvigatel Plant. "I have a mandate from my workforce and to some degree will be expressing the opinion of the majority of workforces which are members of the Joint Council."

He noted that workforces are very concerned over the situation which has developed in our republic.

V. Yarovoy discussed the matter of the Joint Council of Workforces. He stated that the council had joined together in order to make its contribution, on an economic and social foundation, toward development of the idea of republic economic accountability and to assist in development of the republic's economy.

"That is the main and principal aim of the OSPK [Joint Council of Workforces]. But just as any working person, any OSPK workforce is entitled to state its opinion on various political issues. This is a legitimate right; we have stated our views, and we shall continue to state them," said V. Yarovoy. He went on to discuss the practical activities of OSPK in resolving economic issues. "Problems of technology, cooperative production

endeavor, and personnel are being resolved, and special commissions are functioning. Resolution of such issues is in the interests both of the city of Tallinn and the entire republic."

Expressing the opinion of the majority of OSPK member workforces, V. Yarovoy proposed that discussion of the Law on Language [Zakon o yazyke] be postponed to 1989 and that the law be adopted following the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, at which nationalities problems will be discussed. He also proposed stepping up preparations for the republic to make the transition to economic accountability, and that a corresponding program be brought forth for discussion by workforces, with subsequent adoption of such a program. He stated a request that the republic Council of Ministers and Gosplan draw up proposals on joint actions with OSPK. These include manufacture of the requisite equipment for the republic's industry, for its agriculture, manufacture of consumer goods, etc. The proposals will be discussed by the Council. A request was directed to the Tallinn City Executive Committee to prepare a proposal on problems of development of the city's social domain.

"It seems to me that we are all unanimous about the fact that the political situation in our republic is both serious and complicated," stated T. Laak, first secretary of the Tartu city party committee. "But the position of today's joint meeting is already beginning to take form: excessive dramatization and giving this situation an excessive sense of urgency are both wrong. A constructive solution can be found to developments up to the present time."

T. Laak stated that even today we frequently deal first of all with consequences before arriving at the causes of a situation. He expressed the opinion that our level of political knowledgeability is simply too low. We must learn democracy.

The speaker noted that the need for political realism raises the question of implementing political reforms phase by phase, a question of great importance to us. We have perceived the idea of perestroika as a political concept which most accurately characterizes the needs of the present day. Needed right now are any steps taken in our republic or in the Soviet Union as a whole to make comparison with this political concept of perestroika.

Even not so much how democratic a given proposed idea is but rather to what extent it is in conformity with the political program as a whole is important. It is precisely here that feelings of anxiety and resentment which have arisen in our republic are manifested most clearly. Precisely on those points in the draft law on changes in and amendments to the USSR Constitution which has been submitted for nationwide discussion which fail to meet the aspirations of the people, fail to meet the requirement of decentralization of our society's affairs, and fail to meet the necessity of guaranteeing the sovereign rights of the union republics and, in the final analysis, the requirements of democratization. Does this not signify

today that it is necessary to form—and perhaps this should be done as quickly as possible—a new USSR supreme body of governmental authority? It is essential that this be done in order to guarantee further development of the process of perestroika. In the opinion of T. Laak, in a certain sense two questions must be examined separately: the formation of new agencies of authority and the adoption of amendments to the Constitution. Apparently we still must pass through a number of painful stages in order to reach new heights in political democratization, in reforming our entire political system. But each and every change does not necessarily have to be reflected in the USSR Constitution. The philosophy of renewal should in the final analysis be reflected in the USSR Constitution, as in the constitutions of the union republics. A problem arose in our republic apparently primarily due to the fact that people were not ready to amend one part of the Constitution right today. And even when we came to understand that this was not the final version of the amendments, that we would return again and again to these issues, this apparently did not coincide with our understanding of the substance of the Fundamental law [Osnovnoy Zakon—Constitution]. Herein probably lies one of the basic elements of the present situation.

T. Laak discussed the slogan of consolidation. He stated that there can be no other slogan. But we should consider the basis on which, for the sake of what, for the sake of what goals this consolidation is to take place. We have been given a program—the points of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

"Consolidation is today entirely realistic and possible, but it must not be carried out in a lip-service manner, not with the aid of declarations and statements, but by uniting form and content," stated T. Laak.

"We have heard today the slogan 'Consolidation' in the statements of several of the speakers," stated V. Malkovskiy, first secretary of the Narva city party committee. "And I believe that it is time to give constructive thought to how it will be embodied. I therefore propose the following: let us stop hanging labels on the movements which exist in this republic; let us engage in clear-cut, constructive effort. We shall use all the mass media for this purpose, and we shall meet with workforces and citizens. Let us sit down and talk, for in order to accomplish consolidation we must precisely determine how different groups define the various postulates which concern people today, for it seems to me that the ethnic disunity which is occurring in our republic is precisely due to a difference in views."

V. Malkovskiy then discussed problems of republic sovereignty. He noted that sovereignty should consist in extension of the rights of the union republic, in its increased independence, but under no circumstances should it consist in secession from the USSR. Such a position merits sharp condemnation.

"Some of the comrades have also spoken today about sovereignty of the Communist Party of Estonia. But let us define what sovereignty of the republic Communist Party means," the speaker proposed. "Today we are giving greater power to the primary party organizations, more independence in handling a large number of matters. That is one thing. But it is quite a different thing altogether to talk about forming our own program and our own party rules [ustav]. Here too there should be no ambiguities. The question of what is meant by bilingualism is also a matter of concern to us today. At the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia Comrade Vyalyas stated that recognition of the Estonian language as [an/the] official language will not infringe upon any other languages. But the subsequently appearing draft law infringes upon the interests of the speakers of other languages. Could it be that one segment of the population interprets the draft law in one way, while another segment interprets it differently? But if this is the case, let us meet together and discuss the issue in precise and specific terms."

V. Malkovskiy stated that the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia provided answers to many questions of concern to the people of Narva. But the anxieties of the people of Narva were rekindled following the congress of the Popular Front, which adopted a resolution pertaining to the northeastern part of Estonia, a resolution which proposes closing down enterprises without detailing the reasons.

"For many years and decades now we have been able to observe how the Estonian language is being steadily pushed out and supplanted by Russian in various areas of our life," V. Beekman, chairman of the Board of the Union of Writers of the Estonian SSR, noted in his remarks. "We have become accustomed to this, and sometimes even fail to take notice of it. Some of the stages of this process can be traced. During the Great Patriotic War and for several years thereafter, for example, national military units [natsional'nyye voinskiye formirovaniya] existed. They were subsequently disbanded, and from that point on the Estonian language ceased evolving in the military domain. As a result today it is difficult for young translators to translate military literature, since the language has remained at the level of the beginning of the 1950's."

The speaker cited similar examples from other areas of our lives. He noted: "Of course we are still able to use the language in our daily lives. But is this not inadequate in order at least to preserve, if not further to develop, the language of a modern civilized society?"

V. Beekman further noted that at the present time attempts are being made in this country to preserve the culture of ethnic groups numbering as few as 1,000 persons, but that this is a useless effort. One can create an ethnographic ensemble at best, but as far as culture is concerned, only a few miserable vestiges are being preserved.



The speaker emphasized that the draft Law on Language which has been made public is far from perfection. In the way of self-criticism he also acknowledged his own degree of guilt for this, since he is a member of the working group which drafted the bill.

"For the sake of consolidation, and for the sake of restoring fairness, I would like to accede to the view of Comrade Yarovoy, general manager of the Dvigatel Plant," V. Beekman continued. "I feel that we should adopt without delay an amendment to the republic Constitution establishing Estonian as [an/the] official language, which would give assurance to the Estonian population that the language will be protected. But we should continue working on the draft Law on Language, and we should work together, reaching a single understanding, without differences of interpretation, and only after this should the law be adopted."

Addressing the subject of so-called permanent residence [tsenz osedlosti], V. Beekman noted that such a practice regarding citizenship exists in every democratic civilized country. "A length of residence in a country should be established, and only after this length of time can a person claim citizenship. This logically and legitimately has no connection with ethnic affiliation. It is merely necessary to understand in this specific case that Estonia is not a locality but a country, and that the people living here are not simply population but citizens, who are connected to the country by more than the address at which they reside, that is, all persons who put down roots on this territory will obtain citizenship, but for this you must prove that you are here not merely by chance or happenstance. That is all there is to it, and there is no discrimination whatsoever involved."

"I would now like to address a topic which arouses quite unwarranted publicity," V. Beekman continued. "It is that 'disgraceful' word 'migrant', as Comrade Say put it. But the term 'migration' means movement or displacement in general, movement of population, and there is nothing offensive about it. Speakers have also mentioned abusive attacks against the Russian-speaking population. Well, of course, there are attacks, and there are attacks. But one should not, for example, raise to the status of policy common, garden-variety rudeness on a streetcar or in a store, or in some other locale. This will end us up in a brawl. Let us not count up mutual insults and offenses at such a level, since we need self-restraint and even temper in all things in order to achieve the desired consolidation."

"Our land is very rich in phosphate rock, which must be mined in order to produce fertilizer, and consequently for greater agricultural production. But the mining technology which is to be used is such that it will threaten literally life itself on one third of the territory of this republic," stated T. Kork, first secretary of the Rakvereskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

The speaker went on to describe in detail the state of the environment, geography, flora and fauna in that region. He noted that the northeastern part of Estonia is on the brink of ecological disaster. Unfortunately the changes in and amendments to the USSR Constitution transfer the handling of ecological matters to all-union jurisdiction. And it is not hard to figure the position on this matter which the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production will take.

"And then no Soviet authority will help us," T. Kork continued. "One wonders in such a case what will be the point of having an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, rayon and city soviets. Studying the materials of the 19th Party Conference, I am unable to comprehend how articles 109, 113, 116, and 125 got into the draft amendments."

T. Kork expressed the thought that the USSR Constitution should be drawn up with the participation of all the union republics, grounded on the republic constitutions. After that, nationwide public discussion should be conducted not for a month, as is now the case, but for at least a year, so that all amendments and requests submitted by the public can be considered.

He talked about excessive centralization of our economy and government authority, as well as about the pernicious effect of this process on people's living standards.

The speaker discussed the process of formation of public movements, described their activities, and assessed their platforms.

I. Shepelevich, general manager of the Electrical Equipment Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman, discussed the political situation in the republic. He noted that we are presently experiencing a period of anxiety and crisis.

He stated: "By virtue of the fact that we receive differing information, that we possess differing political sense and differing attitude to what is going on, we sometimes attempt to calm ourselves and build various illusions. Today we must reject illusions, take a realistic look at things, and tell people the truth."

"Let us join forces and make up for lost time. The main policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia is consolidation of the entire party organization, since 'the party is organized not according to a national or ethnic principle but rather on a foundation of Marxism-Leninism.' These words were stated by Comrade Vyalyas at a get-together with Norma and Dvigatel employees. We fully endorse this statement."

"It seems to me, however, that in spite of numerous appeals for consolidation from the most diverse forums, nothing will come of this. What is essential first of all is the desire to begin working in this direction, and it is essential to demonstrate this desire to all movements—openly, publicly, in the mass print media. It is also

necessary to demonstrate this desire to all ranking officials, and not only to demonstrate desire but to acknowledge one's mistakes—and many mistakes have been made—both by those who have been extremely active and by those who have been passive. All movements will have to surmount this crisis, but it can be surmounted only under the condition that equal opportunities are presented. There can be no place for monopolies in the drafting of this program. This entire effort should be headed up by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, which should not only head the effort but also bear full responsibility for its results."

The speaker then discussed problems of the print media. He noted that, attempting in one way or another to "suppress" the truth about the things currently going on in our republic, on the one hand the print media is failing to provide complete information and is creating an illusion about the disposition of political forces, while on the other hand it is enraging and stirring up the Russian-speaking population.

I. Shepelevich continued: "We are working in mixed workforces and are interacting beautifully. But when Russian-speaking workers witness certain facts and later read about all this in the press in a distorted form, they see such a lack of integrity, and they let out their irritation on their fellow workers. This is a very important element. Let us display integrity on the television screen and on the pages of our newspapers."

In conclusion the general manager discussed republic economic accountability.

M. Lauristin discussed the most recent meeting of the Popular Front's council of designated representatives [sovet upolnomochennykh] and stated that the council fully supports the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Bureau in their purposeful efforts and in implementing the policy articulated at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and at the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

She stated: "I believe that today's meeting is one more lesson for us, a lesson of mutual understanding, a lesson on the road toward consolidation. Yesterday the news that a Russian-language section [sektiya] of the Popular Front has been formed was greeted with joy and gladness at the meeting of the council of designated representatives. This section is still small in size, but we hope that it will grow substantially in the near future.

"Distrust toward the Popular Front of course did not simply materialize out of thin air. We must understand its causes. We shall reach consolidation by following a path of patient explanation and mutual understanding, rejecting noisy slogans and threats, without whipping up mass hysteria, both among the general public and in workforces."

M. Lauristin ended her remarks with the following: "My grandfather worked at Dvigatel. He joined the Communist Party at the beginning of this century. My father was in favor of Estonia joining the Soviet Union. When Estonia was accepted into the Soviet Union it was promised that same sovereignty which the Estonian Communists were promising to their people. And it is precisely the struggle for return of this sovereignty, taken away by the Stalinist policy, which is a matter of honor for each and every Estonian Communist."

"Our discussion here has been somewhat sharp, but that is the way it should be. Everyone must be honest in stating what he thinks. Only in this manner will we approach the truth," stated B. Tamm, rector of the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute.

"I want to appeal to everyone, to the extent I am able, that we must find a rational and reasonable path toward consolidation. We definitely have more in common than we have differences.

"My heart aches at the awareness that a few irresponsible statements can nullify the labor of many people. What I am talking about is formulation of the concept of IME. This is regrettable. I feel that the leaders of our party's Central Committee, together with the Popular Front's council of designated representatives, party activists, and many workforces should undertake something concrete in the near future in this matter, so that deliberate or infelicitous statements of this kind cannot cast a shadow on the activities of thousands of people.

"The same thing applies to the International Movement (or in general, to the 'other side', so to speak), which indeed encompasses large workforces where the daily situation is different than in workforces consisting of members of the indigenous nationality. It is with great pain that I think about these problems when I read or hear that harsh criticism of the decisions and points of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia has begun to crop up in statements by members of the 'other side.' They were adopted absolutely unanimously, and the CPE leadership is endeavoring innovatively to develop them further. These theses are fully in conformity with the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference."

"Great moral generosity is essential in the present complex situation. Indeed, mutual concessions are necessary. We Communists must find a solution.

"This can be accomplished if we just unite our efforts a bit. The Academy of Sciences and the Polytechnic Institute, as well as certain specialists from other establishments, have recently been devoting considerable attention to drawing up a program on the basis of which we can as quickly, reasonably and rationally as possible commence producing high technology. There is nothing more natural than finding, after the cornerstone has been laid in this endeavor, common ground and common

interests with such a large and vanguard workforce as Dvigatel, and together commencing to work in this area. These are our proposals for collaboration. We must work together to ensure that the extremist positions taken by a few individuals do not pull us from our chosen course—the path of perestroika.”

#### **ESSR Deputies Debate Resolution on November USSR Supsov Session**

##### **Text of Resolution**

18000394a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 10 Dec 88 p 2

[Resolution by ESSR Supreme Soviet: “On the Special 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a Meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 26 November 1988”]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

1. To note the 26 November 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Decree entitled “On the Impropriety Under the Constitution of the USSR and the Laws of the USSR of the ESSR Law “On Changes and Amendments to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the ESSR” and a Declaration by the ESSR Supreme Soviet Concerning the Sovereignty of the ESSR Adopted on 16 November 1988,” as well as a report by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, regarding discussion of this matter.

2. In view of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution entitled “On Further Steps Toward Implementation of Political Reform in the Realm of State Construction” to establish a commission for the purpose of creating a draft of a new ESSR Constitution and improving constitutional legislation.

To elect V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, to head the aforementioned commission.

The ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium shall choose the members of the commission. The ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium’s resolution concerning the composition of the commission is to be published in the republic press.

3. In their work to implement reform of the political system the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the ESSR Supreme Soviet’s permanent commissions and local soviets of people’s deputies are to be guided by the legislative acts passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the 12th Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A. Ryuytel

Chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

V. Vakht

Secretary of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium  
Tallinn, 7 December 1988

#### **Report on ESSR Supsov Debate**

18000394a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 15 Dec 88 p 2

[ETA report: “Debate on a Report by Deputy A. Ryuytel Entitled ‘On the Special 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meeting of 26 November 1988’”]

[Text] On 26 November of this year many people in Estonia experienced quite a few unpleasant moments when Central Television broadcast a video montage made at a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting. These were followed by the alarming days of the special session of our country’s highest organ of power, the outcome of which was greeted with mixed feelings. The USSR legislative acts adopted at that time required in-depth interpretation, position-taking and further action on the part of our republic parliament. This is why there was a very spirited exchange of opinions on this matter at the ESSR Supreme Soviet session.

“Impressions from our previous session are still fresh in our memory,” said deputy T. Kork. “Even fresher are our memories of the debates in Moscow of which our president has just spoken, debates from which Central Television created such a remarkable mishmash. It was as difficult there for our republic leaders as any situation can be, yet they remained Human Beings in capital letters. The people of Estonia give them their due for that and have higher regard for them than for many of our past leaders together.”

“We have before us a draft resolution on this point of the agenda; this draft is divided into three sections. In the first section we note what took place in Moscow and note the report by our president, Ryuytel, on the matter in question. In the second section we establish a commission to draw up a new republic Constitution, this commission to be headed by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee. And in the third section we accept the USSR Supreme Soviet resolutions as our guide.”

“I have two additions to make to this draft resolution. First of all, considering the behavior of our representatives in Moscow, I propose that the second point include the following text: ‘To highly praise the work done by republic leaders to clarify the positions of the ESSR Supreme Soviet before the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.’ In connection with this I propose that the second point, the one which established a commission to draw up a draft Constitution, be considered the third point. And that accordingly the third point in the draft be considered the fourth, with one small but fundamental change: ‘The ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the ESSR Supreme Soviet’s permanent commissions and local soviets of people’s deputies are to be guided in their efforts to implement reform of the political system by the legislative acts passed at the



12th Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.' In accordance with this two sentences on the second page, relating to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting of 26 November 1988, should also be deleted."

"We are following our own path forward. We have stated this repeatedly. This we will continue to do, esteemed deputies and leaders, standing straight and tall, with our heads held high. I propose that these two amendments to the draft be discussed and then put to a separate vote."

"This is the third session at which I have begun to become conscious of my duty and tasks as a deputy," commented deputy L. Sirel. "The previous session did a lot for our people. And the people are expecting a lot from us. The present session is such that the people will again be expecting quite a lot from us. With regard to the decisions made at our previous session some people are saying that we proceeded incorrectly. I believe that that is not true; comrades from distant departments do not always understand the concerns of people in our little Estonia, regardless of which language the people who inhabit its territory speak. Therefore I support the proposal that a change be made in the draft which we have before us, in order to note the report by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, concerning discussion of this matter at the 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting and at the 12th Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The second point should be left unchanged, and the third point needs to be formulated in the way proposed by deputy T. Kork, omitting the final suggestion concerning the 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting. For our decisions were not wrong, but if we let stand here a reference to the aforementioned USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision we will nonetheless create the impression that we are once again preparing to be guided by decisions sent down from higher up and are renouncing our own decisions."

"We listened with particular attention," said deputy V. Chetvergov, "to the report given today by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. We have expressed our position on the actions of the leaders of the Estonian CP and the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in Moscow in the course of discussion of questions dealt with by us at our previous session."

"I understood from the report that much of what we did at our previous session played a positive role in deciding what went into the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet session and into the amendments made to the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law on the Election of People's Deputies."

"However, in our resolution entitled 'On the Special 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meeting of 26 November 1988' we cannot simply ignore the decision made at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting. I think that we cannot say today that everything we did was in

accordance with existing laws in our unified state. In my opinion we should delete from the resolution the words stating that we should not be guided by these decisions of our state's highest organs. By doing so we would simply be opposing our actions to those decisions. We have done a great thing by making our own decisions. We have taken another step in a direction in which no similar step has been taken by any other republic or any other republic's Supreme Soviet. That step has made it possible to achieve a great deal for the country as a whole. But it is my opinion that we must not go to extremes. I feel that what is written in the resolution is written quite correctly. And just as we made decisions at our previous session in a well deliberated manner, so we will be guided by the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in a well deliberated manner."

While expressing support for deputy V. Chetvergov's proposal, in his response deputy L. Lentsman expressed the opinion that the draft distributed to the deputies had been drawn up correctly and soberly. It is precisely what every deputy and every citizen of the ESSR needs today.

"I was prompted to speak," said deputy T. Laak, "by a statement made by one of our very esteemed deputies today in the newspaper NOORTE KHYAEL, the comment that the resolution presently under discussion would virtually cancel out the decisions made by the special session of 16 November. First of all, I do not think that one can accept that viewpoint, but, secondly, we should not create the impression that we are indeed preparing to alter the decisions made on 26 November. Therefore at this point I would like to quote from Article 64 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Rules, which states that if it becomes evident that a constitution or law of a union republic is at variance with the Constitution or law of the USSR the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will present to that union republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium the matter of bringing the union republic's constitution or law into line with the USSR's Constitution or law, if necessary issuing a decree on this matter. Such a decree was not issued, hence the matter of changing the decisions of the 26 November session is not on our agenda."

"I also have a proposal with regard to the third point of the draft resolution: to delete the words 'Supreme Soviet Presidium' and 'at the 26 November 1988 session' from it, since we have chosen to be guided in our work to implement a reform of the political system by the legislative acts adopted at the 12th Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in principle those acts are of an exhaustive nature with regard to matters of political reform."

"The draft resolution before us," stressed deputy V. Vakht, "was carefully thought through by people who are quite familiar with all union legislation, the laws of union republics and the Supreme Soviet Rules, therefore it should be fully acceptable. When he spoke in Moscow

Comrade Ryuytel gave clear and exhaustive answers to these questions. It should probably be clear to everyone what the session accomplished and what the significance of its decisions is."

"The work done by the USSR Supreme Soviet was valuable and useful with regard to legislation in general; it also yielded political results. If it had not, there would be no point in us discussing those decisions here today."

"At our previous special session we virtually unanimously arrived at the conclusion that we are opposed to union departments having absolute sway within the territory of our republic. Hence our dissatisfaction and desire for greater independence for our republic. Yet it seems that perhaps we may have overdone it just a little bit. We talked about the despotism of the central institutions, i.e. of the ministries, state committees and so on. Yet at the same time we did not have anything to say against ourselves, i.e. against state authority. If we expressed ourselves differently and said that we do not agree with what those ministries are doing, then legally we would be absolutely in the right and would not be in any conflict."

"I feel that today's brief resolution is not worth a long discussion. It would be good to consider well one more time all the points which it contains. Let us accept the first point, 'to note.' In the second point let us say that we intend to draft a new Constitution based upon the requirements of restructuring and the changes which have been made to the USSR Constitution, and that we wish to further develop constitutional legislation in our republic. And that we recommend V. Vyalyaz, first secretary of the Estonian CP, as head of the corresponding commission."

"I propose that the resolution be adopted in the form in which it is now before us."

"We have made suggestions concerning changes in the third point, and I ask that this be put to a vote in accordance with the rules of order," said deputy E. Savisaar. "I would like to say that the third point in the draft resolution essentially amounts to a repeal of the 16 November resolutions. If we agree to that, then they will indeed be invalid, but I think that reconsideration of the 16 November resolutions is inappropriate. The harsh criticism of those resolutions coming from union jurists and the mass propaganda media merely confirms the correctness of our decisions. Virtually none of the counterarguments has proven to have legal justification. We have met with jurists, and I am referring to people who are knowledgeable concerning both the law and the Supreme Soviet Rules, and at that meeting that was the conclusion at which we arrived. The materials from that meeting will be published in the near future."

"Obviously it is significant that the USSR Supreme Soviet did not employ its sole legal course of action: it did not submit to the ESSR Supreme Soviet a proposal

that we alter our decisions. In the opinion of many of our jurists the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree is improper. It contradicts Article 76 of the USSR Constitution. According to that article a union republic is sovereign, and sovereignty should be understood to mean precisely what was stated in our declaration on sovereignty. I do not believe that any effort was made in Moscow to alter that section of the declaration."

"Secondly, Article 81 of the USSR Constitution requires protection for the sovereignty of union republics, not repeal of a republic's sovereign will. The reference to the priority of union laws is improper, since reference here is to ordinary laws which are adopted by a simple majority vote rather than to the Constitution. Furthermore, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's right to bring union and republic constitutions into agreement does not give it any right to rule amendments made by a union republic to its constitution invalid."

"T. Laak has already stated that Article 64 of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Rules envisions only one course of action. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium may propose that a union republic bring its constitution into agreement with the union constitution, and that is all. Thus the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree is, to put it mildly, improper even in form. According to the first point in Article 73 of the ESSR Constitution changes in the Fundamental Law of the ESSR and the proclamation of various sections thereof valid or invalid falls within the republic's jurisdiction, and we have not transferred that right to anyone."

"The content of the union decree is no better than its form. Point 2 expresses dissatisfaction with regard to the establishment of republic property. This property belonged to us before, in the first half of this century, and Estonian history records no transfer of ownership. Thus Article 11 of the USSR Constitution, which contains the concept of 'the property of the entire Soviet people' can only be interpreted to mean the sum of properties belonging to the individuals union republics. Furthermore, this is an impermissible mixing of the concept of property with its components; the right to property is equated with management thereof. Professor U. Mereste has given an exhaustive explanation in the press of this particular amendment to our constitution, and I think the basis for this amendment is clear to the deputies."

"It is also incorrect to say that since the USSR Constitution does not make any provision for private property that means that it cannot exist in the ESSR. Anything which is not included in the USSR Constitution is a republic matter."

"The assertion that the constitutional rights of legal entities are guaranteed by arbitration is also false. Arbitration is used only to resolve economic disputes, and only some of those. The experiences of the present year have clearly demonstrated that in cases involving state orders enterprises' opinions are as a rule given no

consideration. The real reason for rejecting this concept obviously lies elsewhere: they did not wish to give citizens protection for their rights, including rights which are acknowledged at the international level, to a greater extent than is permitted under the Law on Procedures for Registering Complaints Against Public Officials. Unfortunately that law came into this world defective and, as everyone is aware, is still not functioning properly today."

"The paradox in this dispute lies in the fact that in debate over the 16 November resolutions both we and those in Moscow cited one the same Soviet Constitution; at times we even cited the same statutes, yet we interpret them in completely different ways. A logical question arises: are there any grounds for us to consider our interpretation incorrect? There is no reason to do so. The job done by the jurists assisting us was performed in a professional manner. However, that is not where the problem lies. The days which have passed since 16 November have clearly demonstrated the fervent support of a majority of the people for these resolutions. These decisions have served as slogans at party conferences and rallies, and we sent our deputies to Moscow bearing them. To reject these resolutions would be not only to renounce our position, but also to deceive the people who elected us. The people have spoken, saying to us: you did the right thing. We cannot now go back and say 'we are sorry, but we did the wrong thing'."

"One could indeed call what has happened a constitutional conflict. This conflict has arisen, but it cannot endure forever; it must be resolved. Its solution can only come through compromise—in no case may it come through capitulation. We are striving for a dialogue between partners, and the first steps in that direction have already been taken. If we now renounce our own amendments our dialogue will come to an end, because we as partners will have ceased to exist. Of course the conflict should not be worsened or exacerbated insofar as it is within our power to prevent that from happening. It should be developed with a view toward resolving contradictions, and each step that we take should expose a contradiction, make it more evident, not deepen it. Therefore it is very important that the Supreme Soviet Presidium swiftly draft and adopt a procedure for registration of union laws and standardizing acts."

"In conclusion allow me to say that in my opinion the union decree of 26 November and its first point are far from correct both in a legal and a political sense, therefore I see no possibility for us to be guided in our work by that legislative act; I support the proposal made by T. Kork with regard to the decisions of 16 November."

Deputy R. Kirs expressed his opinion on the third point in the draft.

"I am fully in support," he said, "of the proposal made by deputy T. Kork that we not be guided in our work by the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In

general I doubt the need for this point precisely because all decisions by the USSR Supreme Soviet, no matter what they may be, serve as the guide for our work. Do we need to make a separate note of this decision in this instance?"

**Resolution of Estonian Party Plenum**  
*18000426a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA*  
*in Russian 25 Dec 88 pp 1-2*

[Unattributed report: "Resolution of the 21 December 1988 13th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee: "On the Program for Practical Activity to Fulfill the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the June 1988 and November 1988 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and to Implement the Recommendations and Comments Contained in the Report and Statements at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee have become for the communists and all the workers of the Estonian SSR a program of revolutionary renewal. In the course of implementing these tasks, steps are being carried out in the republic to reform the political system, to form a socialist rule-of-law state, and the restructure the activities of the social organizations. There has been an increase in the rate of legislative activity, which is of fundamental importance for developing democracy and glasnost and increasing people's social participation.

The gradual process in our republic party organization of getting free of the stereotypes and goals of the period of stagnation received broad support at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee and at meetings in party and labor collectives. The change in the spiritual and moral atmosphere that has been accompanying the perestroika has led to a noticeable enlivening of social and political life, but unfortunately is not yet sufficiently reflected in the activities of the party, soviet, and economic agencies. People's initiative frequently comes up against inertness and bureaucratism and the political situation has been complicated by the tensions in the interethnic relations.

The situation that has developed in the republic and the political tasks evolving from that situation require the consolidation of all the forces that have a self-interest in the radical continuation of perestroika, require concrete deeds to assure the most rapid resolution of the critical political, socioeconomic, ecological, national, and cultural problems, and require everyone's conscientious labor, creativity, and energy.



### I. Economic Policy

To a considerable degree the complicated situation in the republic was caused by shortcomings in socioeconomic development. For a long time the development of productive forces was influenced, primarily, by the interests of the union departments. No support was given to the intrarepublic cooperative system, there exist shortcomings in the distribution mechanism, the unsatisfied consumer demand has been growing, and the ecological situation has been worsening. Large difficulties exist in the resolving of vitally important problems and the development of the social sphere.

Taking into consideration what has been said, the plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee considers the following tasks to be very important ones in this area: the development of a single concept for republic-level cost accountability and a program for changing over to it in 1989; the orientation of investment policy to the qualitative transformation of the agrarian sector and the accelerated development of the social sphere; the modernization of the structure of industry; the increase in production of the share of science-intensive and competitive output; and the improvement of the environment.

In addition to developing and carrying out a fundamentally new economic policy, the Estonian CP Central Committee is calling the attention of all the party, soviet, and economic agencies to the need to take active steps to use the available opportunities for raising the workers' standard of living. In the current critical period it is completely inadmissible to allow any weakening of labor discipline or shipment discipline, or any confusion in the economy. The party and economic agencies must decisively fight against the constant rise in prices and the reduction of the workers' real income.

The plenum considers that one of the most important sociopolitical tasks is the improvement of the manner in which the republic's population is supplied with food products and it requires the Communists who are managers in the agrarian complex to take specific steps when resolving questions, and to reject the use of management methods involving administrative fiat.

1. Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, jointly with Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences and the appropriate commissions and departments of Estonian CP Central Committee, is to develop and carry out a precise program that evolves from the real resources, to convert associations, enterprises, organizations, farms, and institutions, to the new management conditions.

It is deemed to be especially important to support with cadres the republic's changeover to cost accountability, and to raise the proficiency level of the party, soviet, and economic workers in questions of republic-level cost accountability.

2. Decisive steps are to be taken to put an end to the violations of the laws governing the state enterprise (association) and the cooperative system, and to infringement upon the rights of the labor collectives on the part of the ministries and other departments, the city and rayon ispolkoms, and economic agencies. The labor collectives are to be rendered all kinds of assistance in preparing for work under conditions of republic-level cost accountability. The party will monitor the changeover to the principles of complete cost accountability and the self-financing of associations, enterprises, organizations, and farms.

3. All steps are to be taken to support the measures to introduce progressive contract and rental forms of labor, to develop cooperatives, joint-stock societies, and small enterprises, and also to create joint enterprises. The effort will be made to assure that the introduction of the new management forms contributes to raising people's standard of living, to increasing their labor participation, to imbuing them with a sense of being the owner, and to increasing their material self-interestedness.

4. Support is to be given to the initiative of those party gorkoms and raykoms, and local soviets, which have begun to develop regional concepts of administering cities and rayons, proceeding from the overall principles of republic-level cost accountability. Scientists and specialists from the economic departments are to be involved in this.

5. The communists of Estonian SSR Gosplan and other economic departments in the republic are to intensify the work of preparing long-range plans and programs for socioeconomic development and the work of developing other economic forms and methods of administration in conformity with the requirements of republic-level cost accountability, and are to guarantee the reorientation of the investment policy, stipulating as early as the next few years an increase in that part of the national income that is being channeled into the development of agriculture, education, public health, culture, and social security. They are to develop a series of measures to assure the fundamental reorganization and renovation of the republic's production potential, with the attraction of foreign capital for the creation of scientific parks in Tallinn and Tartu.

6. Proceeding from the need for the priority development of agriculture, conditions are to be created for a fundamental change in the economic relations in the rural areas on the basis of cost accountability and self-support, the introduction of various forms of contract and rental, the creation of a broad network of cooperatives, joint-stock societies, agrofirms, and agro-combines, as well as the providing of incentives for the development of socialist animal farms and individual homesteads. It is deemed necessary to reorient the investment and distribution policy, proceeding from the needs of rural life.

It is recommended to Estonian SSR Council of Ministers that it redefine the areas of specialization of certain enterprises for the production of farm machinery that conforms to the local conditions.

7. The mass information media of Estonian SSR are to illuminate completely the development and carrying out of the new economic policy. They are to take active steps to propagandize the republic's changeover to cost accountability. The Ideological Department of Estonian CP Central Committee and the party's gorkoms and raykoms, jointly with the mass information media, are to devote special attention to explaining the problems of republic-level cost accountability to the Russian-speaking population.

8. Cognizance is to be taken of the fact that Estonian SSR Council of Ministers has enacted a decree concerning the increase in the production of consumer goods and food products, the reorganization of the sphere of paid services, and the improvement of the trade services provided to the public. Estonian SSR Council of Ministers is to implement a program of measures to carry out the resolutions of the party conference, as well as the recommendations and changes contained in the report and statements at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee.

## II. Reform of the Political System

The operating mechanism that existed until recently in the political system is largely determined by the tradition that evolves from Stalinism, which tradition denied the legal regulation of political life and absolutized the directive-fiat work methods. This political system rested directly on the narrow group interests and presupposed only the appearance that the masses were participating in political life. The freedoms of the individual were subordinated to the diktat of abstractly declared social and state interests. The rights of the individual were viewed exclusively from positions of the state's interests.

The sovereignty of the union republics and the completeness of the authority of their agencies of popular representation were only of a declarative, nominal nature. Actually, however, direct management, down to and including the petty details, was carried out from the center.

The basis of the reform in the political system is the nation's direct participation in political life, the transfer of the authority to the soviets, and the opening up of the agencies of popular representation for the citizens.

1. Proceeding from the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 13th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee deems it necessary to achieve the further improvement of legislation, to create the lawful foundations for the open and democratic conducting of state affairs, the decision of the most

important questions of state life with the consideration of the specific local conditions and the interests of various social groups, and with a consideration of the new social relations that have arisen in the process of perestroika for intensifying the lawful guarantees against the misuse of power and authoritarianism. All this is completely natural in the struggle against the policy of diktat and bureaucracy, the struggle for the complete eradication of Stalinism and stagnation in our society, and the creation of those lawful and political mechanisms that guarantee the necessity of the process of perestroika and preclude backslidings into state illegality. The plenum deems it necessary for the republic agencies to take active participation in improving the legislation of the USSR.

2. The chief prerequisite for the normal development of the individual is the complete guaranteeing of people's economic, social, cultural, and political rights. The final goal and chief criterion for the reform of the political system is the complete expansion of the individual's rights and the increase in Soviet citizens' social participation.

The republic's law-enforcement agencies must take additional steps to protect the citizens' rights, with a consideration of the capabilities of the legislation that is in effect. In the course of the formation of the rule-of-law state, it is necessary to guarantee the effective monitoring by the public over the activities of all the law-enforcement agencies.

Provision will be made to protect the citizens against arbitrary acts by the law-enforcement agencies. The protection of the citizens and their rights must be promoted by an increase in the role played by the course in the system of socialist democracy, the complete independence of the judges and their subordination only to the law, and the guaranteeing of the legal protection of the individual at all stages in the legal proceedings.

The plenum considers it necessary to accelerate the development of legislative and other acts, and also the taking of steps to compensate for the damage inflicted on the victims of the mass Stalinist repressions of the 1940's and 1950's.

3. The plenum considers it necessary to develop practical measures that guarantee the completeness of the power exercised by the soviets as the basis of the socialist state system and self-government. A very important condition for the reform of the political system is the transfer of the discussion and resolution of all questions of state, social, and cultural life to the soviets, the guaranteeing of their leading position as agencies that have been elected by the nation with respect to the executive agencies and their apparatus. This requires the precise delimitation of the functions of the party and state agencies. Both the republic-level and the local party agencies are to carry out the party's economic, social, and national policy strictly through the agencies of popular representation.

4. The plenum emphasizes the great political importance of the forthcoming election of people's deputies of the USSR and of Estonian SSR. We call upon all the Communists, all the labor collectives, public organizations and movements, and all voters to act in the name of creating, as a result of the election of USSR people's deputies, a deputy corps that is capable of worthily representing the will of the voters and of defending the interests of the population of Estonia under the conditions of perestroika, and also capable of participating actively in the work both of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions. The plenum feels that the people's deputies who have been elected from Estonian SSR must act consciously to form democratic and productive traditions and procedures in the activity of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The plenum deems it necessary to begin immediately to develop the principles and forms of the activity of the Congress of People's Deputies and the permanent Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the lawful mechanisms, procedures, political foundations, and ritual that are linked with the election of deputies, in order to guarantee the legality and productivity of the work performed by the representative agency.

The plenum emphasizes the role of the party committees in the further democratization of the elections to the soviets of people's deputies at all levels. With a consideration of the new electoral system, it is necessary to nominate as deputies those Communists and nonparty members who enjoy authority and who are capable of conducting in the soviets the party's course aimed at perestroika. A very important task of the party is to guarantee the truly democratic nature of the elections and the strict observance of electoral legislation.

5. The plenum notes that, proceeding from the Leninist principle of socialist federalism, Estonian SSR is a sovereign national republic that is part of the USSR. The basis of its development is completely equal cooperation with the other union republics and normal relations with the outside world. The plenum deems it necessary to continue the work of developing the political, economic, and legal guarantees that are necessary for the implementation of the sovereignty of Estonian SSR.

As a result of the reform of the political system, there must be a fundamental change in the relations that the trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations have with the party organizations. They must be based on the free exchange of opinions, and on criticism and self-criticism.

6. The plenum feels that the party agencies and all the Communists must view the renovation of the trade unions as an important political task. The trade unions have lost their dynamism in actions, and have divorced themselves from the workers and their vital interests.

Administration by fiat has stifled initiative and independence in the outlying areas, and has engendered among the workers the need to seek the protection of their rights outside of the trade unions.

The plenum feels that Communists working in the trade unions must actively promote the fundamental change in the work performed by the trade unions, and must achieve a situation in which the trade-union agencies finally decide all the questions pertaining to their competency while actively defending the rights and interests of their members when dealing with state and economic agencies, also using for this purpose the right of legislative initiative.

7. The plenum notes that the increase in the participation rate of young people, which increase has been accompanying perestroika, has found expression in new youth associations. At the same time the influence of the Komsomol organizations in these associations is small. It is necessary to renew the Komsomol organizations, to coordinate their activities with the real self-determination of the young person and with his choice of the path he will take in life. In the subsequent activity of the Estonian Komsomol it is necessary to devote more attention to expressing the fundamental interests of young people—that important social group—and to the resolution of acute problems of youth. On the other hand, it is necessary to guarantee that the young people will support the party's program aimed at perestroika, and to attract them to the renewing of all aspects of the life of society. The plenum feels that the providing of young people with an education that corresponds to modern requirements and the providing of them with incentives to obtain that education, the physical development of young people, their material support, and the lawful protection of their economic, social, and cultural interests must be viewed on the level of a state youth policy.

One of the incentives for social development is the pluralism of the opinions of the members of society. The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee notes that perestroika has evoked a considerable increase in civic participation. In the complicated political situation, there have arisen various movements and other public formations that are based on civic initiative, such as the Popular Front, the Greens Movement, and the International Movement. In order to protect the cultural customs of the nation, the movement for the protection of monuments of antiquity was formed. As a consequence of the participation by the labor collectives, and with the purpose of developing an economic policy, the Council of Labor Collectives and the Union of Labor Collectives have been formed.

The Estonian CP Central Committee supports any manifestation of civic participation, every movement that promotes the formation of a single front of forces of



perestroika in the republic. The party channels its activity in various movements through the Communists participating in those movements. The Estonian CP Central Committee does not support extremist-minded movements or individuals, and views their activity and the results of that activity by proceeding from the legislation that is in effect.

### III. Ideological Work

Perestroika in the sphere of ideological requires the thorough analysis of phenomena in the rapidly changing political life and the shifts in people's way of thinking. It requires the careful interpretation of the available experience and a search for new work approaches and forms.

The perestroika that was begun by the party publicized the actual ideological situation in the republic, a situation characterized primarily by the nation's dissatisfaction with the situation that had been created. The process of perestroika in Estonia has been hampered by many of the convictions and work methods that developed during the period of stagnation, and by the dogmatic idea that national cultures fuse into an overall standard culture. Many Communists are incapable of seeing in the increase in the nation's political activity rate a natural manifestation of social participation, or a condition for getting out of the deepening socioeconomic, ecological, and demographic crisis. The expression of the nation's historical memory is viewed as the manifestation of an alien ideology; the promoting of national factors in political life, as nationalism; and the aspiration to restore the republic's sovereignty, as separatism. The struggle against the political system of management by fiat is interpreted in many instances as national contradictions. The reasons for the destabilization of the situation are seen in the publicizing in the press of contradictions that accumulated over the decades, and also in the radical re-evaluation of the activities of the party and state agencies. Perestroika is harmed by the insufficient political work among the Russian-speaking population and by the differences in the state of being informed among the Russian-speaking and Estonian-speaking population. On the other hand, the perestroika is being compromised by the extremist slogans and actions of certain extreme groupings.

The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee is convinced that people's awareness is formed primarily by the socioeconomic development of society. It is necessary to put in the center of ideological work the ideological support of the economic reforms and the democratization of the life of society.

1. At the present time, ideological actions must promote the unification of all the forces of perestroika, and the taking into consideration of the interests of various segments and groups of the population when making decisions; it must guarantee for the forces that support perestroika the opportunity to express their opinion, and the implementation of Leninist principles of

national policy; the democratization of public life; the reform of the political system; and the overcoming, in the party and in the state agencies, of conservative tendencies and stereotypical views.

The implementation of all these tasks presupposes responsible, well thought-out, and steady political work, which takes into consideration public opinion and the sociopsychological peculiarities of various categories of the population, and also involves public movements.

It is politically important to find a flexible resolution of the questions that exert an influence upon interethnic relations, while adhering in the strictest manner to the principles of socialist federalism and the constitutional principles of the citizens' equal rights irrespective of the nationality to which they belong. The basis of a realistic mutual understanding must be the acknowledgement of the primary importance of developing the national cultures and language, as well as the guaranteeing of the rights and cultural needs of people of other nationalities. From these positions it is necessary to provide the ideological interpretation of the problems of the development of the Estonian nation and the consolidation of the population of Estonian SSR, and to form the self-awareness and public opinion of both national groups.

3. It is necessary to unite the Communists and all the forces that support perestroika, and primarily all the forces of the intelligentsia, in order to prepare the platform of the Communist Party of Estonia for the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to discuss interethnic relations, which platform proceeds from the needs of the development of the USSR as a multinational state, as well as the Leninist principles of the equal rights and sovereignty of the union republics.

4. One of the essential components of ideological work is the involvement of the nation in the process of formation of political decisions. The people's initiatives, as a rule, must be implemented in the form of a program of actions for the executive power. The basis of political decisions is formed, first of all, by the interests of the social communities and the expression of their will. The party organizations, on the basis of broad information, must form the will of the basic groups of the population.

Important factors are the capability and ability both of the party aktiv and of the apparatus to act politically, proceeding from the consensus or compromise.

The attitude taken toward politically extreme positions must be one that is based entirely on party principles. It is necessary to enter into open combat with those positions, narrowing the sphere of their influence, primarily by political life that is well-balanced and that forms democratic traditions.

5. It is necessary to place at the center of party-propaganda work the practical goals instead of the previous educational ones. It must center its attention on local

life, the political and ideological support of the development of the rayon, the city, and Estonia, and the constant political interpretation of the problems of development. The task of political education is the theoretical explanation of those problems to the aktiv and to the cadre workers.

6. The mass information media have done a large amount of work to educate the population and to form a public opinion that expresses the will of various groups of the population. The party considers it necessary to form democratic public opinion that reflects the strivings of the basic social forces movements, that supports perestroika, that rests upon the pluralism of opinions, and that expresses the consensus and compromises. It is necessary to act decisively against a simplified way of thinking that strives for a confrontation irrespective of whether they are permeated with pseudoradical or conservative aspirations. It is necessary to welcome in every way the inner differentiation of the mass information media, which differentiation takes into consideration the nature of the audience to which the particular publication is directed, as well as its place in the system of information as a whole. The use of the mass information media to express party positions is important for creating the favorable atmosphere is necessary for the economic, social, cultural, and political changes.

7. The plenum feels that the development of culture is an inseparable component of the democratization and humanizing of the republic's social life. It is necessary to raise the cultural level of all the inhabitants of Estonia, and the nation's spiritual and moral potential. It is necessary to continue the work of democratizing and decentralizing cultural life. One of the most important components of the republic's social program is the reinforcement of the material base of cultural institutions and enterprises. It is necessary to strive for a more just evaluation of the labor performed by the cultural workers on the part of the state.

The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee recognizes the priority of developing the national culture in Estonia and deems it necessary to create the conditions for developing the Estonian language and its application in all spheres of life. At the same time the plenum expresses its complete support of the national cultural aspirations of other nationalities living in Estonia, and of the creation of opportunities for cultivating their national cultures.

The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee puts a high evaluation on the activities of the republic's intelligentsia in increasing the activity rate of the process of perestroika, the democratization of cultural life, and the mobilization of the nation to carry out the changes.

The plenum deems it necessary to involve on a broader scale representatives both of the creative intelligentsia and the technical intelligentsia in the activities of state and public institutions carrying out the political and social reforms.

8. The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee considers the active communication with foreign organizations and citizens to be one of the conditions for democratization and the economic and cultural development of society. It is necessary to develop a concept for developing the republic's external ties, taking into consideration of the foreign-policy doctrine of the USSR, the requirements of the concept of republic-level cost accountability, and traditional partnership.

The plenum supports the striving of the enterprises and organizations that are in operation in Estonia to cooperate with foreign companies, and feels that the basic trend when concluding contracts dealing with cooperation and the creation of joint enterprises is the modernization of the republic's industry and agriculture on the basis of the most up-to-date technological schemes.

The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee considers that necessary steps are the development of international cultural contacts and the participation of the republic's cultural, scientific, and educational figures in the international measures and international programs and organizations.

The plenum supports cultural and economic cooperation with our fellow countrymen abroad, who are ready to take part in the decision of Estonia's problems on the basis of scientific and cultural contacts, and supports the idea of creating an Institute of Estonia, which idea is aimed at developing ties and scientific and cultural contacts between Estonians living in Estonia and foreign Estonians.

#### **Democratization of Party Life**

The Communist Party of Estonia has been, is now, and will always be an inseparable component of the CPSU, and a fighting detachment of that party. The Communist Party of Estonia proceeds from the CPSU Program and Rules, and the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Congress. At the same time the plenum feels that the Estonian CP, as the communist party of a national republic, must express, in addition to the state-wide interests, the specific interests of the national republic. The Estonian CP must not only implement the partywide goals, but must also participate actively in forming a partywide political course, and must demonstrate its own initiative in relations with the CPSU Central Committee and the party organizations of the other union republics.

The plenum notes that perestroika in all areas of social life requires the further reinforcement of the link between the party and the nation. Under the specific conditions of our republic, this must occur on the basis of the consolidation of all the forces that support perestroika and the various national groups and public movements. Consolidation is a necessary condition both for the transformation of the republic's national economy, for reforming the political system, and normalizing

the interethnic relations, and also for organizing the effective protection of the environment. Other factors that constitute an essential condition for reinforcing the link between the party and the nation are the further democratization of intraparty life, the expansion of glasnost in the party's activities, and the concrete definition of the party's role and tasks in connection with the reform of the political system of our society.

The plenum asserts that the recently concluded campaign to hear reports and hold elections was incapable of properly increasing the activity rate of the party organizations, or of mobilizing the Communists for active participation in perestroika. The considerable reduction of the number of shop party organizations and party groups—a fact that essentially means a considerable reduction in the size of the elected party aktiv—the decrease in the number of persons accepted into the party, the increase in the number of persons removed from the ranks of the CPSU, and the deepening of the disproportions in the social and national makeup of the Communist Party of Estonia, require thorough and complete analysis.

Perestroika gives the republic's party organization the task of developing the principles of its activities, of renewing the style, forms, and methods of party work.

1. The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee feels that the chief strategic goal of the Communist Party of Estonia is the adequate expression and implementation of the interests and the political will of the basic social forces of Estonia. The Estonian CP Central Committee must develop by the 20th Congress of the republic's party organization a program for the activities of the Communist Party of Estonia, the basic principles of which evolve from the directions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee, and the platform of the republic's party organization that was developed for the 19th CPSU Conference. It is necessary to organize the broad discussion in the republic's party organization of the program of activities of the Estonian CP.

2. The changes occurring in the political life of society also cause considerable changes in the party itself, in all its low-level links and administrative agencies. The Communist Party of Estonia must be a true leader of perestroika in Estonia and a bold initiator of political reforms that carries out the democratization of public life.

This task requires the development of intraparty democracy, the providing to all the Communists of broader opportunities for participating in the discussion, working out of the paths, and making of decisions dealing with the vitally important problems confronting the

labor collective, hometown or rayon, or the entire republic. It is completely natural that the Communists participate in active political life, primarily through their party organizations, proceeding from the fact that they belong to the party.

The expansion of the opportunities for intraparty activity in the course of developing intraparty democracy should be viewed as an important path to consolidating the party ranks and uniting the Communists around the Estonian CP Central Committee. The party committees and primary party organizations are obliged to take specific steps to reinforce party discipline and to give a well-principled evaluation of antiparty and antisocialist manifestations, as well as violations of the requirements stated in the party's Program and Rules.

The party organizations, while engaging in specific social, economic, and political problems, must, by their ability to take the initiative and to strive for perestroika, conquer the positions of the political nucleus of the labor collectives. It is necessary to devote the main attention to the supplementing of the ranks with advanced people who are defenders of perestroika. The party's gorkoms and rayons must learn how to use the entire potential of the primary party organizations, how to renounce the style of issuing fiats to the low-level party links, and must support and encourage everything that is new and beneficial in the activities of the primary organizations.

3. It is necessary to restructure the interrelationships between the elected party agencies and the party apparatus, and to guarantee the active role of the elected party agencies in preparing, discussing, and deciding questions.

In order to deepen joint responsibility and glasnost in party work and to expand intraparty democracy at all levels, the plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee deems it necessary to create, under the buros of the party committees, commissions made up of members of those committees to deal with the basic areas of party work.

The plenum requires of all the party committees, primary party organizations, and Communists the steady observance of Leninist principles of democratic centralism. The buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee has been instructed to develop the procedure for conducting intraparty discussions.

4. The new political situation in the republic has revealed weak areas in the previous cadre policy. Its methods did not promote the promotion of party administrators who had initiative and who were able to defend the party's positions in a well-argued manner. All the party committees must make the necessary conclusions from this and must take effective steps to improve the cadre policy and to elect on the basis of democratic principles to managerial positions those workers who enjoy a large amount of authority, who possess the



necessary political convictions and on-the-job and moral qualities, and who are capable of maintaining the course aimed at the deepening of perestroika.

For purposes of eliminating protectionism, the narrowly departmental approach, and the giving of preferences to local interests when promoting or assigning workers, it is necessary to become carefully acquainted with the candidates, and also with the opinion that the primary party organization and the broad aktiv of the labor collective and the public have about them.

For purposes of making the cadre policy more democratic, it is necessary within the near future to reduce considerably the number of positions that are included on the nomenklatura of the party committees, with a consideration of their new structure.

5. The activities of the Central Committee's Secretariat are to be concentrated on the time-responsive guidance of intraparty life and the monitoring of the fulfillment of the decisions that have been made, and the attention of the Central Committee's Buro and plenums is to be concentrated on the long-range questions.

A large amount of attention is to be devoted to the selection of the questions that are to be brought up for discussion by the Buro and Secretariat of the Estonian CP Central Committee, and the level of their preparation is to be raised.

6. The reorganization of the party apparatus and the restructuring of party work on the new principles require the improvement of the forms and methods of party work and the critical interpretation of the new practice. It is necessary to strive for closer and more fruitful contacts between science and party work, and this must promote the formation of a realistic policy that corresponds to the new political situation.

The system of training and retraining of party cadres in the republic is to be reorganized.

The plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee feels that the dynamic activities of the primary party organizations, the party's gorkoms and raykoms, and the Buro and Secretariat of Estonian CP Central Committee in mobilizing the Communists and all the republic's workers to fulfill the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the special 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, as well as mobilizing them to implement the recommendations and comments contained in the report and statements at the 11th and the present plenums of the Estonian CP Central Committee, must bring the Communist Party of Estonia and the political, economic, and social development of the republic to a new and higher level.

### LaSSR CC Discusses Preparations for USSR Peoples Deputies Elections

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[Latinform report: "From the Latvian CP Central Committee Conference:" "To a New Quality of Democracy"]

[Text] On 23 December a Latvian CP Central Committee conference was held, at which questions of organizational and political work were discussed in the course of preparations for holding elections of USSR People's Deputies.

The conference was opened by Latvian CP Second Secretary V.P. Sobolev, G.N. Loskutov, chief of the organizational-party and cadre work department, delivered a speech: "Every communist must become involved in the election campaign," he said. The first thing to which we must pay special attention is in-depth study of the Law on Election of People's Deputies, and the changes and amendments which have been introduced to the USSR Constitution. Every elector must know just what his rights are, as well as the procedure and time limits for every stage of the election campaign; in a word, he must be well-oriented in the peculiarities of the new Election Law.

"A most serious and responsible stage in the election campaign is the nomination and registration of candidate deputies. From the electoral districts in our republic, eight territorial and 32 national-territorial electoral districts have been formed for electing people's deputies. Nomination of candidates will take place by electoral district from 26 December, through 24 January 1989.

"Actually, the election campaign has already begun. Meetings are taking place, as are sessions of the working collective soviets, at which possible candidatures are discussed. Those named have been representatives of social organizations, state and party figures in the republic, cultural workers, economic administrators, outstanding workers and kolkhoz members, and representatives of the intelligentsia. Party organizations must take care to ensure that the candidates for deputy are true patriots, who are concerned about public affairs; people who have a clear-cut civic position; people who possess political culture.

"It is not one's past service, nor one's production indicators—but loyalty to socialism and one's level of political thinking, high personal prestige among the people, and readiness to actively carry out the policy of perestroika which the party has adopted: these are the criteria for nominating candidate deputies."

Loskutov went on to stress the procedures for nominating candidates for deputy. He emphasized that conditions must be established in the elections for nominating an unlimited number of candidatures. Of course, here too one must obviously not lose sight of common sense;

for one can hardly determine in a democratic manner or fully and objectively weigh the merits and shortcomings of the candidates if their numbers stretch to infinity. In order to avoid this, it is acceptable to hold preliminary discussions on possible candidatures at party meetings, and at meetings of social organizations and working collectives, for coordinating actions and determining which are the most worthy of nomination in the name of the collectives. Rayon and city party committees and Soviets of People's Deputies should coordinate the activities of the collectives of enterprises and organizations in the selection and nomination of candidates. At the same time, it goes without saying that there are still broad opportunities for any elector to express his own opinion and his own proposals on any candidature, including his own.

It is especially important to single out the complex of questions associated with the activities of the district electoral commissions. It is namely with them that control is invested for the proper application of the Election Law in specific electoral districts. It is precisely they who will be organizing the nomination of candidate deputies. They will be registering the candidates; they will be organizing their meetings with the electors both in the working collectives and in their place of residence—operating, of course, in cooperation with the social organizations and the working collectives.

The organizational role of the electoral district commissions must be displayed in the course of the formation of electoral districts as well, which begins in January. They must be formed no later than 24 January of the coming year. Not later than 7 February, representatives must be nominated for the section electoral commissions of working collectives or their soviets; for rayon, city and Riga rayon organs of social organizations, including party organs. The right of nomination is also given to meetings or conferences of the primary wings of all social organizations, organs of voluntary public social organizations, and electoral meetings at residential areas and military servicemen at their military units.

Not later than 8 February, Soviets of People's Deputies of rayon and city (or republic subordination) and rayons in the city of Riga and executive committees must confirm the membership of the electoral commissions; after which, but not later than 10 February, their membership must be published in the rayon and city newspapers.

I would like to stress that assisting the electoral commissions in their work, participation in their sessions and in the measures they conduct—is not simply the right, but the direct responsibility of the party committees and Soviet organs, in accordance with Article 31 of the Law.

An indispensable condition of all the activities of the electoral commissions is to that they ensure broad publicity. Republic and local mass information media must become directly involved in this matter.

Every party organization and every rayon and city party committee must have worked out a well-defined timeline for organizing and conducting the electoral campaign.

The speaker pointed out that in spite of the novelty of the Election Law all of its elements have, to a significant extent, already been proven in practice. Consequently, we must make a broader study of the experience accumulated in the country, and in our republic as well, and adopt without fear all the best features that can and should be adopted in our conditions. The most interesting experiences arising out of the localities in the course of the preparations for the elections should also be studied in a timely manner and made our common property.

The main direction of the practical work of the party committees and Soviets of People's Deputies must be to concentrate the efforts of the communists and deputies on solving the most important questions and problems of socio-economic development, genuinely implementing the principles of social justice, and the spread of democracy and glasnost in the spirit of the demands of the 19th Party Conference and the November 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This means that we must strive to achieve positive steps in those affairs which directly touch upon the interests and needs of the people: in improving the supply of foodstuffs and manufactured goods and, consequently, in expanding their production; in unconditional fulfillment of plans for housing construction; and in clear-cut organization of the operation of industry, transport, communications, and the services sphere. And the working people should become more involved in working out and implementing our plans and programs, and in administration of all affairs of state.

Latvian CP Central Committee Secretary I.Ya. Kezbers spoke at the conference about the peculiar features of ideological and propagandist work in the course of the pre-election campaign.

"Our peaceful days have come to an end. The real pre-election struggle is on," said he. "Here in the hall there is probably not a single person who will not have an opportunity to take part in it. We are faced with above all selecting the most worthy candidates—people who are politically erudite; extraordinary people who are capable of representing the republic at the nation's highest legislative organ. Here we must forget everything personal, everything alien, and consolidate our efforts. Secondly, we must acquire the necessary experience; for in the Fall we will be electing the people's deputies of our republic.

"I would like to dwell on three constituent elements in the organization of the present pre-election campaign; these are: the personality of the candidate; his election platform; and finally, the program of strategy and tactics by which he will conduct his election campaign.

"With respect to the candidatures, we the communists must be the most active participants in the pre-election campaign. Without waiting for someone to nominate candidates from the sidelines, we must nominate our leaders: the people with whom we work and whom we know well. Furthermore, our selection must definitely not be based on the position of rank that this or that person holds. We must proceed above all from his personal qualities.

"Next year a CPSU Central Committee Plenum will be held, which will work out the party's political platform for the coming elections. The Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum will also adopt a pre-election platform, which will be published in the republic press. Without a doubt these will be fundamentally important documents. But I think that chances for victory in the pre-election struggle will be greater for those who, under the guidance of these documents, most properly build their own pre-election platform.

"I will illustrate by example. Let us say a candidate is nominated from the Ventpils electoral district. In that case the problems of the ecology must be predominant for him. In other words, he must not only have complete mastery of this subject, he must also make it the basis of his pre-election platform. Today we must orient on such candidates, whose pre-election programs are fully in accord with the problems and tasks of this or that region or working collective, in the name of which this person is nominated.

"Moreover, this must be a very concrete and cogent program, that everyone can understand; and it must—as the experience of other countries shows—consist of literally five or six points.

"What new things are currently being introduced to the pre-election campaign? Whereas in the past a candidate had to have a trustworthy face, now it is a question of a whole pre-election team, which might consist of up to ten people—his advisers, specialists on ecology, experienced economists, jurists and so on. Together they can work out the candidate deputy's program, and plan and conduct his pre-election meetings with the electors. I believe that we should go right ahead and work out a kind of certification for candidates. Beginning with his biography, the platform he has worked out, and his concrete plan for conducting the entire pre-election campaign.

"The previous practice, in which we might appear in the electoral district a couple of times prior to the elections and once again during the reporting period, as you yourselves understand, is no longer suitable for anyone today. Presently, anyone who is serious about fighting for the nomination must constantly be at the center of attention of the community in whose name the candidates are nominated. We need above all personalities who, while defending their pre-election platform, are capable of speaking in front of any audience, and respond to the most unexpected questions.

"How should meetings with candidates be organized? I think that in addition to meetings in the labor collectives, arranged at various times, pre-election debates might well be held in the form of a kind of round-table discussion with the electors of a given electoral district. Here, however, it is very important to note that clashes of opinions should not go beyond the bounds of the political ethics accepted throughout the world.

"We realize that our political culture is at an extremely low level. In the political struggle, when two or even three candidates are in contention, political criticism must be at a high level. But it does not always stay at that level everywhere. From this point of view any attempt to belittle one's opponent in any way, would appear to be improper, to put it mildly.

"And now a few words about the mass information media. I don't think I would be exposing a great secret if I permit myself to say the following: A person who today has great access to television and radio has in essence a head start in the pre-election campaign. In this sense the role and responsibility of the State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting is today greater than ever before.

"From this point of view, as you know, the law stipulates a certain balance. Every candidate must be offered an identical amount of time, for appearing on television, for example. But all people are different, and if one can expound his views in five minutes, perhaps another would require 15 to do so. And here, one cannot get along without the advice of specialists."

The next speaker at the conference was Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman A.V. Gorbunov. He dwelt on questions of organizational work in the course of the pre-election campaign, and conducted realistic mock sessions (*delovyye igry*) with the conferees.

Responding to the numerous questions from the conferees were republic Supreme Soviet Presidium department heads I.Ya. Lietavietis and A.M. Krumins.

In his concluding remarks, V.P. Sobolev laid special emphasis on the need to conduct the elections for USSR Peoples' Deputies in the framework of a soviet organization. The present campaign is being conducted in conditions of democratization of society, carrying out the political reforms defined at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the deepening of glasnost. This places unprecedented responsibility on party committees, party organizations, and communists. In the course of the pre-election campaign it is important for them to display activeness and adherence to principle, and under no circumstances can they permit distortion with respect to national origins while nominating candidate deputies. Everything possible should be done in order that both the candidates and the electors master the new Election Law. The main thing today is concrete matters. We must



agitate for fulfillment of the Food and Housing Programs and for increasing the manufacture of consumer goods. We must not forget that we are talking about the formation of the highest organ of the Nation of Soviets. The success of perestroyka, the processes of democratization and the formation of a legal state, will truly depend to a vast extent upon who it is that is nominated and elected to it, who it is that will be doing the work in that organ. The most important thing today, in the course of the elections, is to arrange things in such a way that all power will belong to the Soviets.

Also taking part in the work of the conference were Comrades A.P. Bril, K.I. Nyuksha and S.V. Zukul.

### People's Forum Delegates Elections Sabotaged By Officials

#### Nomination of Delegates

18080014 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
8 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by I. Helmane: "How Responsible for Democracy Works"]

[Text] The Latvian Peoples' Forum will be opened very soon, which may become an important step on the road to the consolidation of all progressive forces. We were discussing this issue often and to a great length. However, recently we hear more often about the chaotic approaches and rush in the elections of delegates to this Forum. I became sure of that after listening to the Chief of the Popular Front support group at the Riga machine bench and standard equipment plant D. Ozols and other plant's workers.

The meeting organized to nominate the delegates took place in a great hurry. Many workers learned about it some half an hour before its start. The meeting took place during the 1st shift's lunch break and, therefore, workers of the evening shift could not participate. The list of delegates to be nominated prompted confusion. Firstly, it was impossible in advance to discuss who could be a delegate. Secondly, the workers wanted a delegate from each ethnic group to be nominated by the same ethnic group workers. In addition, the list was incorrect. For example, a Latvian was nominated... as a Pole.

D. Ozols told me that the plant's Party organization secretary I. Borisov did stress in the beginning of the meeting the importance and significance of this measure, but in determining the agenda he did not provide time for debates. Workers' objections against several candidates were ignored.

In order to clarify all misunderstandings, I met with the plant's Party organization secretary I. Borisov.

[Borisov] We received the order to organize such a meeting a day before at the rayon's ispolkom. When I came back to the plant, the artist had completed her workday (she worked until 1500 L.H.). Therefore, I wrote a notice myself. The next day, the artist wrote two (the bold text is mine; I.H.) more notices, in order for all workers to know about the event.

I am the person responsible for democracy here and I know how to organize meetings. I think that this meeting was carried out in a very democratic way. In addition, I knew before the meeting that nobody from our plant would get to this Forum, because we have a small collective.

[Helmane] How could it happen that a man of another ethnic group was nominated to represent the Poles?

[Borisov] I am surprised myself! He is a good friend of mine, and I thought- how is it that I never knew he was a Pole?

I tried to find out who the person was who had given the order to organize the meeting within one day.

I. Borisov answered that he did not know the man's name, but he was the microrayon's Party organization's secretary.

As to the Popular Front's support group chief D. Ozols, they were already having conflicts in the past, therefore, this man's activities should be restricted. And in general, comrade Borisov claims he is not afraid of the newspaper, you got the wrong guy.

It was probably foolish to justify myself by explaining that a journalist goes somewhere not because she wants to scare somebody (especially, the Party organization's secretary), but rather to understand the real situation. I wanted to think that this case is an exception, and that obviously I. Borisov did not himself invent that nobody from the plant's delegates would be nominated from the rayon and, therefore, in a formal way was executing a formal order. However, during the conversation with the workers B. Paulenko, R. Zakite, and E. Petrova I have learned that their meeting with their work colleague, the LaSSR Supreme Soviet's deputy Alfreds Retikis was also quite strangely organized.

We were told that we could not attend this meeting at all, if we did not have any concrete proposals.

What else can I add to this! I think that everyone will come to his own conclusions, because the whole society is responsible for the democracy principle's realization.

### Readers' Letters

18080014 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
8 Dec 88 p 1

[Two letters and a letters' summary provided by PADOMJU JAUNATNE: "From Readers' Letters"]

[Text] In November, meetings were organized in the majority of shops and divisions of the Riga railroad car plant, during which the candidates for the plant's general meeting were elected. The general meeting had to nominate two delegates to the Latvian Peoples' Forum.

However, such a general meeting did not take place. Instead, the management of the plant called for the plant's working collective council's group (17 from 31 people) and it nominated the delegates.

We consider such elections to be anti-democratic and illegal, because 17 people did not have the right to decide an issue that is of interest to 4800-men strong collective

**A. Daudze, Riga railroad car plant's LPF board's chairman**

On 29 Nov 88, the elections of the delegates to the Peoples' Forum took place at the main enterprise of the production association Rigas Audums.

Our enterprise has 1800 employees, but only 44 people, representatives of the Party and management, participated in the elections.

We consider these elections to have been carried out in a hurry, ignoring the elementary democratic principles and the point of view of our collective's workers.

**I. Cepuritis, production association's Rigas Audums LPF support group's representative**

The editorial board has also received letters from the member of the Daugavpils city LPF section's board A. Stars, Riga residents E. Lenkevich, S. Norvaitis, resident of Bauska V. Koluza, and the Gauja National Park's LPF group. All these letters express the thought that we are still far from understanding democracy.

We approached the People's Forum's organizational committee and learned that its mandate commission had tried to take into account all complaints, but it did not have the means to check the elections of every delegate. Therefore, anyone will be able to submit his proposals and complaints over the telephone. The telephone numbers will be provided during the TV coverage.

**BSSR CP CC Posthumously Reinstates Official**  
18000504a

[Editorial Report] Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUS-SIYA in Russian on 30 December 1988 carries on page 1 a 500-word report on a 28 December meeting of the

BSSR CP CC during which a resolution was passed to posthumously reinstate Korniliy Maksimovich Zheludov's membership in the CPSU. From 1935 to 1937 Zheludov served as chairman of the Slutskiy okrispolkom [district executive committee of the union of workers, peasants and Red Army deputies]. He lost his party membership in 1937. A year later Zheludov was falsely accused of membership in "the united counter-revolutionary spy-terrorist organization of national fascists" and consequently sentenced to "the highest form of punishment." He was rehabilitated legally in 1966 by the USSR Supreme Court.

### BSSR State Archives Declassified

18000504b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 4 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Placed in the Light"]

[Text] Many materials preserved in the Central State Archives of the October Revolution and Socialist Construction of the BSSR are being declassified. Restrictions on access to the documents of many departments are being lifted. A wide circle of researchers now have access to thousands of certificates from past decades.

Caption under photograph accompanying article: Marina Gorlukovich, chief curator of the archives, displays declassified documents from the BSSR Internal Affairs Peoples' Commissariat.

### UkSSR CP CC Official on Party Election Preparations

18110010a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 19 Oct 88 p 1-2

[Interview with A. I. Korniyenko, chief, Department of Organizational Party and Cadre Work, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, by editors of RADYANSKA UKRAYINA: "In the Light of Glasnost"]

[Text] Report and election meetings are in progress in the republic party organization, as in the CPSU as a whole. They are now practically completed in the party groups, are close to completion in the shop party organizations, and are in full swing in the primary party organizations. In connection with this it seems useful and timely to draw some conclusions, albeit preliminary conclusions, and to adopt necessary lessons. A. I. Korniyenko, chief of the Department of Organizational Party and Cadre Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, replies to the editors' questions about the specific features of the current report and election campaign.

[Interviewer] At the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum the conviction was expressed that this year's reports and party elections will be unlike all previous

ones: a frank, open and straightforward, genuinely party discussion is to be held on what contribution each of us is making to perestroika. To what extent is this actually taking place?

[Korniyenko] Analysis of the information being received by the department and the personal impressions of party workers make it possible to draw some conclusions: on the whole the report and election meetings are being conducted in a more demanding atmosphere than in the past and are more content-filled. Communists are openly discussing matters of crucial importance, are resolutely exposing shortcomings, and are boldly defending their views. Progress in implementation of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the guidelines of the 19th All-Union Party Congress pertaining to extending and deepening perestroika, implementing reform of the political system, and further democratization of party and societal affairs is being comprehensively analyzed.

Paramount attention is being devoted to tasks pertaining to improving organizational and ideological indoctrination work, the work style of party officials, extending and deepening the economic reform, strengthening party, government, and labor discipline, and meeting the urgent needs of the working people. A keen discussion is in progress pertaining to deficiencies and shortcomings in providing the population with foodstuffs, consumer goods and services, and in resolving housing and other social problems. Participants in the meetings are expressing dissatisfaction with the fact that in many places economic accountability, self-financing, and contract relations are being introduced in a lip-service manner, while the practice of limiting the independence of workforces is continuing. Party members are displaying particular intolerance toward resistance to change, incompetence, and indecisiveness in carrying out the tasks of perestroika. There are indications that management bodies are being slow in overcoming bureaucratic methods of administration and management, while party committees sometimes simply accept this situation.

I should like to note that party-unaffiliated persons are extensively taking part at the discussion stage in the work of the current report and election meetings. This is one of the signs of democratization of party affairs. It attests on the one hand to increased worker interest in intraparty affairs, and on the other hand it attests to the need for maximum consideration of public opinion and consolidation of Communists and party-unaffiliated behind the ideas and goals of perestroika.

At the same time we cannot ignore the fact that some places the party-unaffiliated are setting the tone at meetings. Of course one cannot help but be gratified by their strong civic activeness. One cannot help but ask, however, just what kind of party organization is it and what kind of party members are they, if they must be dragged

along, so to speak. In such instances there should definitely be a thorough, serious analysis of the situation, and assistance should be given.

Finally, one should emphasize that party members are approaching more rigorously and realistically an assessment of the work performance of party group organizers, buros and secretaries of party organizations. The work performance of 1,218 of them has been designated unsatisfactory. This is almost twice as many as the final figures of the last report and election campaign.

[Interviewer] One's attention is also drawn to the following figures: more than one fourth of all party group organizers, one out of every three shop organization secretaries, and approximately 30 percent of secretaries of primary organizations were replaced in the course of the meetings which have been held. Can you comment on this?

[Korniyenko] A substantial turnover in elected bodies is one more important feature of the current campaign. Party members are nominating genuine leaders, people of competence and energy, who are receptive to all new things and who are capable of thinking and acting unconventionally. For the most part party group organizers, secretaries, and members of buros and party committees are elected from among two or three candidates. I should like to note that the elimination of preliminary scrutiny of the candidacies of activists seeking election to party committees, as was practiced in the past, has not caused a worsening in the qualitative composition of party committees.

The candidacies of party members recommended for election to high-level party agencies are also being openly and frankly discussed. Special commissions are being formed to study them more fully and objectively, party members and party-unaffiliated are being polled and surveyed, and the local press and radio broadcasting as well as publicity display stands are being extensively utilized.

[Interviewer] So perhaps those party committee people, especially at the rayon and municipal level, are right when in a number of cases they voluntarily withdraw from influencing the entire course of the meetings, and especially the election process?

[Korniyenko] Equally unacceptable here are both excessive pressure, the exclusivity of influence approach, and spontaneous drift, faith that everything will work out by itself. Party committees should combine perseverance in implementing a well-reasoned cadre policy with a respectful attitude toward differing points of view, greater flexibility and tactfulness. Otherwise there is a possibility of undermining faith in the 19th Party Conference guideline pertaining to democratization of internal party affairs and becoming captive to an uncontrolled force.



Democratic forms of the election process in the party open up broad opportunities for affirmation of pluralism of opinion. They can be correctly utilized, however, only if people possess a high degree of political and moral awareness and a profound understanding of democracy, which has nothing in common with anarchy, settling scores, and machinations.

Here is what happened at a report and election meeting on the Kosivskyy Sovkhoz in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast. Three years ago they strengthened leadership and management. They succeeded in imposing firm order and proper procedures, but in the process they naturally did detriment to the personal interests of the former managers and specialists. So now the "offended parties" resorted to demagoguery and succeeded in dumping the party committee secretary, a militant worker of integrity and principles. This attests to the fact that they are not thoroughly studying the attitude and thoughts of party members and that representatives of higher party agencies also failed to make a comprehensive candidate evaluation for the post of secretary.

[Interviewer] To what other shortcomings and deficiencies in the course of reports and elections should we draw the attention of party committees?

[Korniyenko] Unfortunately some reports fail to contain an analysis of the state of affairs, statements by party members are not self-critical, and they do not contain constructive proposals. Frequently matters pertaining to intraparty affairs, political work with people, organization of instruction of party members and the party-unaffiliated, and indoctrination of working people, especially young people, are ignored.

Some meetings are characterized by passivity, a low level of demands, and sometimes a lack of principles as well. In a number of party organizations, especially the Volyn, Dnepropetrovsk, Ivano-Frankovsk, Lvov, Ternopol, Chernigov, certain other oblast organizations and the city of Kiev, the performance of party group organizers, secretaries, and buros is being given a mark of satisfactory, even with obvious mistakes and failures.

Parasitical attitudes are far from being totally eradicated. They are manifested in the fact that when analyzing shortcomings and deficiencies, as a rule people look for the guilty parties elsewhere and say very little, and sometimes nothing at all, about their own errors of omission and fail to criticize their close associates. Such was the case, for example, at the meeting of party members of Section 1 of the Otdelstroy Construction Administration of the Sumzhilstroy Trust. The problem essentially involved a poor job done by subcontractors and general contractors and lack of initiative on the part of economic management agencies. All this unquestionably merits criticism, but the problem is that those who

took part in the meeting did not say a single word about the personal involvement of CPSU members in perestroika, about their own mistakes and ways to correct them.

It is unfortunately not a rare occurrence where the forum of party meetings is used not in the interests of the matter at hand but in order to inflame unhealthy passions. This was the case at a shop party organization meeting at the Central Scientific Research and Industrial Design Institute for Mechanization and Electrification of Livestock Handling Processes (in the city of Zaporozhye). In the last 20 years this workforce has failed to produce any project results providing up-to-date technology, and the level of return on effort is very low in many of the laboratories. And yet for seven and a half hours—that is how long the meeting lasted—they spent most of the time wrangling over bonuses, salaries, and positions.

Some might consider this to be a chance, sporadic occurrence. Examination of the state of affairs in the oblast party organization, however, indicates that the Zaporozhye Oblast Committee has done a poor job of guiding the report and election campaign. From the very beginning they have neglected direction and guidance of this activity, and secretaries and oblast committee officials have rarely attended meetings and have done little to influence their conduct.

A patently poor job was also done by H. Ruzhin, first secretary of the Maloviakovskiy Rayon party committee in Kirovograd Oblast, who was responsible for preparations for the report and election meeting in the party organization of Construction and Installation Administration No 8. The accountability report in this meeting was more reminiscent of instructions by the administration chief, who by habit was merely issuing orders, while the meeting itself was more like an ordinary production planning session. The rayon committee first secretary, who was in attendance, simply kept silent.

And is much benefit derived from dropping in on meetings unannounced and then hastily popping out again? Of course not. Many party committee officials do not meet with party members on the eve of the report and election meeting and do not help them prepare reports and draft resolutions. For example, Nikolayev Oblast party committee inspector V. Kravchenko and K. Soroka, member of the Nikolayevskiy Rayon committee buro and rayon newspaper editor, arrived at the report and election meeting at the Zelenoyarskyy Sovkhoz five minutes before it began.

Of course addressing the matter in a superficial manner is inadequate in order to explain and elucidate such disturbing errors. It is evident from this, quite frankly, that some of our cadres lack political experience, competence, and the ability to guide and direct a meeting

into the correct channel and to conduct a substantial debate. Unfortunately they sometimes remain silent, preserving "neutrality" in nonroutine situations. To what is this leading?

I shall cite the following example. An official from the Khmelnytskyi Oblast party committee arrived to attend a report and election meeting held by the nuclear power plant electrical shop party organization. But when he announced his wish to address the meeting, the party organization secretary commented that oblast committee officials had spoken at the station in the past, but that their speeches had not resulted in any changes for the better. Lost party committee confidence must be regained by solving specific problems.

[Interviewer] Has every locality thoroughly assimilated and is every locality properly adhering to the demands of the new CPSU Central Committee Instructions on the holding of elections to executive party bodies?

[Korniyenko] I must admit that ignorance of the CPSU Central Committee Instructions on the holding of elections is the reason for many shortcomings in the conduct of meetings, especially their election segment. For example, in the shop organization of the administrative component of Kiev motor Transport Enterprise 33002, candidates for the buro were presented as a list, without extensive discussion in the shops, and voting booths were not set up for the secret balloting. In a number of localities the right to recommend candidates for party committees was given only to large party organizations.

The provision of the Instructions on the possibility of forming commissions for advance examination of candidates for election to party buros and committees is also being poorly utilized. Sometimes procedural elements take precedence over the content of meetings, the factor of chance increases, and there is failure to apply full consideration in forming elected bodies. Sometimes only executives or specialist personnel are recommended for election, while the rank-and-file workers are left on the outside. Here too one should pay heed to comradely advice by representatives of higher bodies.

[Interviewer] We should like to address the following item. The CPSU Central Committee wants reports and elections to be used for selection of party administrative cadres.

[Korniyenko] As we know, the recent Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum ratified a decision on a new structure of the administrative edifice of party committees. And an essential condition for nominating a person for a party administrative staff position is the recommendation of the primary party organization, which is also empowered to bring up the question of dismissing him from his position if he fails to live up to their faith and trust.

I should like to add that in cutting back on administrative staff it is not mandatory to give preference to those persons whose position is being retained, for there are many capable individuals in those branch departments which are being eliminated, persons who think and act in a contemporary manner. In selecting cadres for party committee assignments it is essential to consider first and foremost ideological conviction, moral purity, modesty, innovative ability, knowledge of the job, experience in party work, and purposefulness in carrying out the tasks of perestroika.

Today the main thing is that party committee administrative staff personnel operate with political methods, assist primary party organizations in a substantive and practical manner, work perseveringly to organize implementation of ratified decisions, and thoroughly study cadres.

[Interviewer] In our editor's mail, and probably that of others as well, one finds letters about instances of refusal to run for an elected body—so-called declining of candidacy. There is varying reaction to such instances in the party organizations. Some comrades invoke the demands of party discipline, while others invoke freedom of choice....

[Korniyenko] Of course there is no universal approach in this matter. Each individual case should be handled in a specific manner. It is one thing, for example, if there is a valid reason—poor state of health, difficulties in combining work with study, or difficult family circumstances. But it is a quite different thing altogether when a person chooses to avoid difficulties and seeks the most tranquil spot. This is an indication not only of inadequate political maturity on the part of a member of the CPSU but also indicates a defect in the party organization on whose rolls he is carried.

[Interviewer] Rayon and city party conferences will soon convene. To what should party committees direct their attention in connection with this?

[Korniyenko] We are indeed entering an exceptionally important phase of the report and election campaign. This is why it is very important to analyze the course of progress of report and election meetings, to synthesize experience, and to draw lessons. The main thing is to maintain an innovative spirit and a critical attitude. In our opinion, in holding these conferences one should make fuller use of experience in preparing and presenting reports by elected party agencies on directing perestroika, as well as elections of delegates to the 19th Party Conference.

Analysis and synthesis of critical comments and proposals (fully meaningful preparation for the conferences is impossible without this), accomplishment of their practical implementation, and immediate resolution of addressed issues are assuming primary importance. In

view of the considerable turnover in the elected aktiv, one should work seriously and effectively on organizing their instruction and period of training in the top party organizations.

Work on accountability reports is presently nearing conclusion in party rayon, city, and oblast committees. In the localities a great deal is being done to overcome the customary predictable pattern and routine and to make better use of the experience, know-how, knowledge, moods and attitudes of the broad body of activists. Main emphasis should be placed on assessment of the activities of party committees as agencies of political guidance. It is important objectively to assess past performance, to avoid general observations, and not excessively to load down accountability reports with long lists of names. In short, one should speak about one's work performance and the activities of the elected aktiv.

In conditions of democratization of the election process, formation of the aktiv of party committees requires special attention. It is important that it contain convinced and, most important, active political fighters for perestroika. It is precisely they who are called upon to ensure a high work capability and efficiency on the part of rayon, city, and oblast committees, a readiness and willingness to resolve problems and accomplish tasks, which are becoming increasingly more complex. Commissions, as discussed above, must assume a substantial portion of the work involved in readying proposals on the makeup and composition of party committees. In sum, it is necessary to do everything to ensure that the conferences constitute an important stage along the road of restructuring the activities of party committees and that they leave a profound mark in the daily affairs of rayon, city, and oblast party organizations.

[Interviewer] Obviously in discussing this most important political campaign one should not ignore the participation of the mass media in this campaign....

[Korniyenko] Of course, for otherwise we cannot achieve total glasnost. Although the local press, radio, and television are doing a very useful and beneficial job, many Communists feel that reporting on the report and election meetings by the mass media has not taken on the requisite scale and depth. There is still time, however, to correct the situation. The fact is that this is our common concern—the concern of both journalists and party workers.

**Dnepropetrovsk Obkom Plenum Results Reported**  
18000535 RATAU REPORT Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY  
in Russian 15 Dec 88 p 1

["Plenum of the Dnepropetrovsk Party Obkom"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk 14 December. Today a plenum of the Dnepropetrovsk Party Obkom was held here which examined the question of organization. Due to

V.A. Ivashko's election to the post of second secretary of the UkSSR CP CC, the plenum relieved him of his duties as first secretary of the party obkom.

N.K. Zadoya, obkom second secretary, was elected first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom.

N.G. Omelchenko, first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party gorkom, was elected second secretary of the party obkom.

Politburo member and UkSSR CP CC second secretary V.A. Ivashko took part in the work of the plenum and delivered a speech.

### Problems in Kazakhstan's Kzyl-Orda Oblast Serious

18300200 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by PRAVDA special correspondents D. Gutenev and G. Dildyayev: "At the Take-off Site: Notes from the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Party Conference"]

[Text] From here, night launches from Baykonur can be clearly seen. And this is not surprising: Indeed, Baykonur is located in Kzyl-Orda Oblast. About which, we are sure, the majority of our readers do not know, as is loudly proclaimed by the longevity of this "secret".

There were delegates from the Leninsk city party organization in the hall where the conference took place. But discussion was not about space achievements, and we mention Baykonur here not in order to name the exact address of the space center. It is simply that, in the bright after-burn of launch rockets, what has been done and what has been left undone in the vicinity of the space center, stand out in contrast.

### What Has Changed?

Recalling that everything is understood in terms of comparison, we decided also to take a look at materials from the preceding oblast party conference. Well, time passes, and the signs of this are evident. Now, of course, you will not hear the obsequious and penitential phrase: In response to the just criticism expressed by comrade D.A. Kunayeviy... "Discussions have become much less fettered and more democratic. And, nevertheless, even now, some addresses sounded as if they had been written in that time, more than two years ago. Few apartments are being built, food shops have scant supplies. And the chief physicians at the children's hospital, S. Yesova, specially stressed: "I am talking from this tribune about the same things that I talked about at the last conference."

They gave her the floor at the very end of the first day of work, when the audience was getting tired. But, when the chief physician began to talk about specific consequences of the inability to solve long-standing problems of public health, a tense silence again hung over the hall. About 40



percent of all cases of infectious disease within the republic are found in Kzyl-Orda Oblast. Seventy percent of the women area near Aral suffer from anemia, infant mortality is at a record high...

Well, has nothing changed? No indeed, there has basic progress in some things. This is the place to say that, already the next day, in oblast newspapers, together with the materials from the conference, a report was published about the fact that administrative buildings which are becoming vacant are being transferred to public health institutions. This measure is necessary. But, of course, it is not enough. It is necessary to complete "long-term construction projects" more rapidly. And, for the present, in an oblast which has more heroine mothers than any other, is shameful to say that there is hot water at only one maternity home.

We have already been led to write about the fact that Kzyl-Orda Oblast occupies a singular place in Kazakhstan. The former leaders of the republic gave it too little attention, ignored its needs. This bled the economy white. The highest number of unemployed work-capable citizens and the lowest level of incomes are here. Add to this the unfriendly, to put it mildly, natural and climatic conditions, the Aral environment, and it will become understandable why 220,000 people left this small oblast last year alone. It was only recently that Kzyl-Orda, having been the first capital of Kazakhstan, received a landing and take-off field for modern airplanes.

Problems, problems, problems... So that, possibly, the speaker, the first secretary of the oblast party committee, Ye. Auelbenov, had been hasty when he reported that an overwhelming majority of the critical observations and proposals made at the previous conference had been taken care of. Incidentally, on the eve of the conference, we had a long meeting with him and are grateful for the openness of the conversation that took place.

"The transfer to this oblast, to the south, was difficult for me," the secretary admitted. Indeed, I am a pure "virgin lands man". But when I saw how difficult it was for a good, honest, and patient people to live here, I understood that this is was sign of fate. You know, the Kazakhs have a saying: 'All your life you will remember the taste of meat you ate in a year of hunger.' So that, I will not forget these years. What makes me happy? People believe in the sincerity of my efforts to change many things here. They trust me and my comrades in the oblast party committee. They support us."

We heard echoes of this same thought the next day in the report: "The main results of the reporting period have been a fundamental increase in the activeness of the workers, in their interest in the transformations that are being carried out, and a strengthening of the authority of party organs."

One has to agree that this is very important. But people are waiting for other results as well: real progress in the line for an apartment, in obtaining meat, milk, vegetables, pure water, and new things that please the eye. All the more so because good premises have been created for moving ahead. The republic is now meeting all requests from Kzyl-Orda. "They do not refuse us anything," the speaker noted. What is bad is that capital investments that are allotted are so far not being fully utilized. In a region which has a labor surplus, working places are not being created. In a word, there still has been no real success in achieving important changes.

#### The Burden of a Leader

Before the conference began its work, we turned to several delegates and asked what they expected from the emissaries of the oblast party organization. The first secretary of the Dzhalgashskiy Rayon party committee, B. Kayupov, answered:

"Open discussion, criticism, regardless of the authorities. Only this will help us to free ourselves from shortcomings."

His expectations were realized. In this sense, the conference was a success. It is noteworthy that, in opening the debate, B. Kayupov even touched upon the personal shortcomings of the first secretary of the oblast party committee. Having given the former's energy and thirst for new things their due, along with this, he spoke about his inability to combine being demanding with being a good party comrade. The chief of the oblast department of social security, K. Kayrullayev, who until recently headed the oblast party committee administrative organs department, also did not pass this by.

It is indicative that, at the demand of the delegates, K. Kayrullayev was added to the list established for the secret balloting and was chosen a member of the oblast party committee.

Here is why we are talking in such detail about criticism directed to the first secretary of the oblast party committee. A deficiency of sensitivity toward party comrades, of respect for the opinion of others, is also manifested in the behavior of a number of other directors of party committees in the oblast. So that critical remarks heard at the conference serve as a lesson not only to Auelbekov.

#### Not for Form's Sake

Why is the habitual attachment to once fixed ritual so strong, nevertheless? And what sort of reserves lie in a departure from conservative "traditions"? Here is an example. A worker at the Machinery Repair Plant [RMZ] and chairman of the plant's labor collective council, O. Galiyev, was not a delegate to the conference but, the day before, he dropped into the oblast party committee: "Please invite me. It is very necessary that I speak." Formally, a rejection would be in order—he was

not a delegate. But they went around this. Galiyev was in the conference hall and was given his say. It turned out to be both sharp and precise. He "rebuked" the leaders of the city of Kzyl-Orda who are not keeping their promise to increase the tempo of housing construction, to improve street lighting and the supply of vegetables to the city's residents.

Many new things have sprouted in the social life of the oblast during the reporting years. Thus, the Terenozekskiy Rayon party committee has already been operating for a long time without sectoral departments. Its efforts have become more effective. At the Tonkurus sovkhoz, in place of a score of controlling subdivisions, they have created one. The election of directors on the basis alternative candidates has begun to be practiced everywhere. But even these, seemingly, solid gains are stumbling up against administrative thresholds.

The first secretary of the Yanykurganskiy Rayon party committee, S. Daldabayev, gave the following example: They were about to elect as chairman of the rayon committee on living conditions somebody other than the one on which the oblast party committee's department and the secretary directing it, N. Makarenko, had insisted upon, when a question of "violations" was introduced on an urgent basis at a session of the party committee bureau. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated incident.

The report spoke about increased attention by the oblast party committee to ideological questions. In the debates, it was precisely this area of its activity that was subjected to the greatest criticism. The first secretary of the Chilikskiy Rayon party committee, A. Abenov, characterized as persistent the attempts made to white-wash the state of affairs with "high percentages", for instance in relations between nationalities. This is manifested as well in the selection of personnel, in their acceptance into the party.

Newness does not lie in turning over forms, but in supplementing them with a modern content. An statement by a director in an oblast newspaper is, we would say, a good thing. And indeed, the day before the conference, under the promising headline "Unity of Word and Deed", there appeared an interview with O. Sapiyev, the oblast party committee secretary in charge of ideology. What new things did the reader learn? Practically nothing. General phrases about achievements, an abundance of the imperatives "it is necessary" and "we should." The human soul was not touched by this statement. What was it for? In order to routinely remind the population of the name of the oblast party committee secretary?

#### The Dependence Syndrome

In the addresses of the delegates it was frequently heard that this or that minister, this or another republic organization are not providing assistance to a specific collective. From the tribune or through the free microphone in

the hall, practically every one expressed a request. Someone needs a bridge, someone a pasture, irrigated lands, someone—living quarters... And then M. Amedov, a fitter at the construction materials combine, took the floor.

"The impression is created that everyone came here in order to tell about their own defects, to ask help from the oblast party committee, the central committee, the ministers. Communists ask me: 'What have you learned at the conference? What shall I answer my comrades? And, indeed, many directors are sitting here. Why will none of them get up and say: 'Here it is, a specific, living example. Do like I do.''"

Unfortunately, the worker's call did not receive the support it should have. It is not a simple matter to change the psychology of dependence. As formerly, a hope in what someone is obligated to do. Last year, industry produced 337 million rubles worth of output, and 268 million were issued to the oblast in funds for construction alone. During three years, capital investments in agriculture have increased by 36.7 percent and, in the same time, gross agricultural production increased only by 6.6 percent. But no discussion took place about how the oblast will be able to pay back its debt to the state.

Incidentally, the most grateful applause was heard in the hall after an address by one of the workers at the space center. Baykonur, its communists, have undertaken help to the oblast. Brigades of doctors are being sent out to neighboring rayons. Among the workers, technicians and engineers at the space center there still are no young people from Kzyl-Orda. They will be called here to work and to learn necessary professions.

After the conference, we asked several participants whether they were satisfied with its results.

A. Vikhrova, a cutter at the sewn and knitwear factory: "Earlier there was no such an atmosphere, such passionate discussion of all questions. Criticism directed at the top leaders of the oblast and city will be of great benefit to the new make-up of the oblast party committee."

A. Muratvayev, militiaman, internationalist fighter: "I was a delegate to the oblast conference for the first time. This is a good school. It is true some devoted too much attention to their own production affairs, to questions which could be solved on the job. More discussion should have been given to the state of intra-party democracy, to ways of improving ideological work, patriotic and military education, especially of young people..."

T. Leypi, shop chief at the cellulose and cardboard plant: "I was touched by how emotionally each delegate expressed sympathy for the Armenian people. Pain unites. It would be good if they also extended us assistance in saving the Aral area."

Here is something else that needs to be remembered. In the recent past, Alma-Ata phrase-makers put a metaphor into the mouth of the former director of the republic, that Kazakhstan is a airliner that is gaining altitude. The comparison is not overdrawn. In part, also because a component part of this "liner" is Kzyl-Orda. It needs more take-off room. But the time of restructuring is a good runway, one which earlier did not exist.

At an organizational plenum, Y. N. Auelbekov was again elected first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party.

#### **TuSSR Decrees: Old Rayons Abolished, New Ones Created**

##### **Some Turkmen Rayons Abolished**

18300116 Ashkhabad *TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA*  
in Russian 23 Aug 88 p 1

[Decree of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Elimination of Certain Rayons of the Turkmen SSR, 22 Aug 88]

[Text] The Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. The elimination of the following rayons of the Turkmen SSR;

Gyaurskiy Rayon of Ashkhabad Oblast, having transferred its territory to the Ashkhabadskiy Rayon in the same oblast.

The transfer of the administrative center of Ashkhabadskiy Rayon from the city-type settlement imeni Ovezberdya Kuliyeva to the Annau city-type settlement;

The Gasan-Kuliyskiy Rayon in Krasnovodsk Oblast, having transferred its territory to the Kizyl-Atrekskiy Rayon in the same oblast;

The Kara-Kalinskiy Rayon of Krasnovodsk Oblast, having transferred its territory to the Kizyl-Arvatskiy Rayon in the same oblast;

The Bayram-Aliyskiy Rayon in Mary Oblast, having transferred the territory of the Bakhar and Leninizm village soviets, the settlement of Gushlyob in the Bagt Village Soviet, and the settlements of Komsomol and Odunchi in the Azat Village Soviet into the administrative jurisdiction of the Bayram-Ali City Soviet of People's Deputies; having transferred the territories of the Ravnina and Uch-Adzhi settlement soviets of people's deputies and the Azat, Bagt, Murgab, Turkmenistan and Yalkym village soviets to Karakumskiy Rayon, the territories of the Zakhmet Settlement Soviet of People's Deputies and the Yagty Village Soviet to the Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon in the same oblast.

The transfer of the administrative center of the Karakumskiy Rayon from the Yagtyel Settlement to the city of Bayram-Ali;

The Kushkinskiy Rayon of Mary Oblast, having transferred the territories of the Krasnoye Znamya and imeni Chapayeva settlement soviets of people's deputies to the Iolotanskiy Rayon, and having transferred the territories of Kushka City Soviet of People's Deputies, of the Kala-I-Mor, Sandykachi and Tashkepri settlement soviets and the Chemenibit Village Soviet to the Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon in the same oblast;

The Telmanskiy Rayon of the Tashauz Oblast, having transferred its territory to the Kalinskiy Rayon in the same oblast.

The Dostlukskiy Rayon of the Chardzhou Oblast, having transferred the territory of the Leniniskiy Village Soviet to the Kerkinskiy Rayon, and the territory of the Talimardzhan and 60 Let SSSR village soviets to the Khodzhambasskiy Rayon, the territories of the Kommunar and Tashrabad village soviets to the Charshanginskiy Rayon, the territories of the Amu-Darya, Dostluk and Kerkichi Settlement Soviets of People's Deputies to the administrative jurisdiction of the Kerki City Soviet of People's Deputies in that same oblast;

The Sakarskiy Rayon of the Chardzhou Oblast, having transferred its territory to the Sayatskiy Rayon in that same oblast.

2. It establishes that the deputies of the rayon soviets of people's deputies, whose electoral districts are located within the area of the eliminated rayons, shall retain their powers until the next elections in the rayon soviets of those rayons which include the electoral districts which are being lost, while the deputies of the Bayram-Aliyskiy and Dostlukskiy rayon soviets of people's deputies who were elected in the electoral districts whose territory is being shifted to the jurisdiction of the Bayram-Ali and Kerki city soviets of people's deputies shall retain their powers in the given city soviets of people's deputies.

Chairman of the Turkmen  
SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium  
R. Bazarova  
Secretary of the Turkmen  
SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium  
M. Orazova  
City of Ashkhabad  
22 August 1988

##### **New Rayons Created**

18300116 Ashkhabad *TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA*  
in Russian 23 Aug 88 p 1

[Decree of Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Formation of Parakhatskiy Rayon in Mary Oblast, 22 August 1988]

[Text] The Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:



1. The formation within the Mary Oblast of the Parakhatskiy Rayon with a center in the settlement of Kulanly.

The inclusion within Parakhatskiy Rayon of the territories of the Khauz-Khan and Shatlyk Settlement Soviet of People's Deputies of the Mary City Soviet of People's Deputies, of the Kulanly Village Soviet in Maryyskiy Rayon, of the Kurban Durda Village Soviet in Sakar Chaginskiy Rayon and of the Parakhatchilyk Village Soviet in Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon.

2. The conduct in the newly created Parakhatskiy Rayon of elections to the rayon soviet of people's deputies.

Chairman of the Turkmen  
SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

R. Bazarova

Secretary of the Turkmen  
SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

M. Orazova

City of Ashkhabad

22 August 1988

**Newspaper Complains of Low Budget, Searches for Sponsors**

18080018 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
20 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Vineta Vizule: "Open Letter to Letters' Writers"]

[Text] Very soon a letter will again be entered in the mail log as being the first in the new year of writing and reading letters. Whether a letter that will be logged under the number 43,000 will arrive during the remaining two weeks depends on you, our readers. For comparison, I will mention that 14,620 letters were received in 1987, while in 1986 their number was only 9,116. Will we reach the peak this year? Or, maybe the next year the number of letters will be even higher?

Last week, the editorial office's workers discussed how to better organize their work in order not to get lost in the events, changes, and piles of your letters. Unfortunately, the journalists also in the future will not be able to prolong the day for several additional hours in order not to feel the constant time shortages and the resulting hurry. As in the past, for the time being we will not be capable to get even the cheapest calculator with the most primitive memory for processing our huge amount of mail. I am not even mentioning the shortages of cassette recorders, problems with gasoline supplies for the two editorial office's cars, and other problems. The workers of the ideological sphere, as before, are forced to work using prehistorical methods, in spite of the fact that we are required to demonstrate the strongest responsibility and, as it should be for a daily newspaper, the highest efficiency... However, the workers of the only daily newspaper in the republic for young people that is published in the Latvian language have only two legs, a notebook, and a pen. This is too little for their work quality to be at the level of today's requirements.

It is possible that the conscience of some bureaucrat is at peace, because the picketers were pushed away from the threshold of his office. To the contrary, the editorial board has no legal rights to ignore citizens' complaints and proposals. But does today's executive mechanism correspond to this law? If somebody were to ask us what a particular letter to the editorial board achieves, the answer would not make anybody happy. When we learn what concerns our reader, what their mood is, and how different articles (not only in our newspaper) are assessed, nothing is changed in practice.

What value is there in thousands of letters being received, when we cannot process these letters by means of modern computing, create a data bank, and use these data to make conclusions, which would be based on modern sociological methods. Such results would be far superior in their objectivity and scientific approach than current amateurish polls of public opinion and the emotions of the three ladies in the letter department, who process these letters. Today, many people have the

right to accuse the editorial board of a biased selection of letters that present a one-sided view. Thus, for example, we hear accusations that we do not publish letters whose authors are against the TV program "Labvakar!" [Good evening!] being nominated for the Komsomol prize. But we do not have such letters! However, there are still people who do not believe it. Therefore, if we had a computer where all the editorial mail would be entered, we would be able to prove that no "unwanted" letters are trashed.

I remember the large number of letters we were receiving when we published news about the State library and the possible metro construction, the wide readers' response to the discussions concerning the State languages, national symbolism, mechanical migration, and the issues of Constitutional amendments. There were thousands of letters, and just think about the huge amount of work the journalists had to accomplish counting the signatures! But this is only general work of letter processing. Sociological services could obtain here much more detailed information, but unfortunately, the editorial board does not have either sociologists or lawyers on its payroll. The editorial office's payroll, which represents only a half of, for example, that of CINA (but both newspapers' circulations are the same), at the present time does not allow us even to hire additional letter processors. Is the only thing remaining to ask the readers to "pass a hat," as TV viewers did to support the program "Labvakar!"? There are enterprises that supply their sponsored schools with computers for children's education. Maybe, one of these enterprises will become a sponsor of the editorial office?

I know that it is impolite to ask another person for a favor, but I went through your letters. For example, G. Bukalders from Vaidava writes:

"If you have any thoughts or problems, we ask you not to be modest and to openly ask your readers for help. We are not specialists in your profession; however, we still may provide you with some good ideas.

How can you assure that the information received from the Union's republics does not have distortions and the facts are not hushed up? Send your special correspondents to these republics. If it is impossible due to financial considerations, we propose to establish an 'Information Fund.' We believe that people will support it, because all of us want to know the truth about the events in neighboring republics. For the time being, we cannot trust the All-Union press and central TV.

One more recommendation: do not pay attention to all kinds of profuse statements about what the press should and should not do. The most important things are efficiency, events, and facts. If somebody accuses you that you only made a situation more difficult by too quickly reflection on the events in the newspaper, one should ask them, where are those who had to resolve these problems long ago by eliminating them. Some

people would complain that unpleasant facts are being unearthed, but they are real and cannot be hushed up. You had a good start. Therefore, we wish you that it would not be a 100 meter dash, but rather a marathon."

Indeed, we would like the editorial board's work to be a systematic and purposeful one in order for the words to be followed up by deeds. However, plain enthusiasm is not enough for this. In the coming year we will again log our letters in thick entry books, transfer them to various authorities, and quote them in our letter summaries, as we have done it for years. However, all these activities have a negligible output. In this letter review I could quote excerpts about dirty streets of Riga, and shortage of apartments. We could quote endless open letters to the

Riga robotics plant, "fathers" of the International Front, procurator Dzenitis, CINA, radio listeners, etc. Compared to other weeks, this week's mail did not have a dominating theme. All letters were urgent and good for publishing.

Rather than to pull some sentences out of a couple of letters, I decided to tell a little about the editorial board's "sins" and problems.

I hope that the readers and letter writers will forgive me for this, since we must meet Christmas with a clear conscience and a resolution to work much better in the future. However, this cannot be done, if one does not try to identify the mistakes of the old year.



### Peace Movement Seen as Force for Internal Political Change

18120056 Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE  
in English No 12, Dec 88 pp 26-31

[Article by Gleb Pavlovskiy: "Peace in the World and in the USSR: Spiritual Movement and Real Movement"]

[Text] [<]ix "The personal views of a man about the philosophy of peacemaking." The subtitle could be different to emphasize the paradox and unexpectedness of the author's conclusions. The trouble is that it is probably early yet to speak about a peacemaking philosophy or concept, more or less established. In an interview to our correspondent, published in issue No. 11, 1988, Vladimir Orel, First Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, raising a number of new and fundamental questions on the purpose and activity of the Soviet Peace Committee, urged the "XX Century and Peace" magazine to start a public discussion, keeping in mind that the conference of the Soviet peace movement is not far off. In fact, the magazine has been conducting such a discussion from month to month, and for quite a long time. We hope that the materials mentioned here will give an additional impetus to the creative participation of our readers in the search for a real and effective peace all over the world and in our own country.

There is some thing about the West that gives you no peace. I would like to have the same in the USSR. But they won't give us this thing. And it is impossible to import it. It can't be presented by the most generous Western billionaire or by the political movement most friendly disposed towards our country. Is it possible to copy this thing? Yes, but this will be to no avail. It can't even be got hold of, although it has an exact location.

This thing is located in Europe, in the wonderful country of Spain, not far from its capital, Madrid, and is called Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen). It is a common graveyard where those killed in the civil war—Leftists and Rightists—are all buried. These people took up arms to fight their brothers, and if they didn't kill their brother, it was only because he killed first.

The common graveyard of fascists and anti-fascists! The most outstanding anti-communist of our century—Francisco Franco lies there among communists and his comrades-in-arms, among heroes and the meanest minions and hangmen who fell victim, and the victims who didn't have time to become hangmen. There is nothing in common between those lying there, nothing they could have agreed upon if they were to start talking again. They have all interfered passionately and irreconcilably into Spanish history and all are dead.

So why are they lying together?

For them nothing, but for those living it has one meaning: civil war has ended and peace has set in.

Every person can have enemies but people have no "enemies of the people." There is terrorism and murders may take place, but nobody is looking around in search of "renegades." There is poverty, hopeless poverty and there are people who stand to gain from poverty but it harbours neither "intrigues of dark forces" nor the "machinations of foreign secret services." People are full of vice everywhere, but nobody will start accusing a Russian or a Frenchman of Spanish vices. (By the way, this is the most important sign of a people safe for their neighbours—when nobody is interested in the ethnic origin of a villain or in the patronymic of a fool: all are our folk!...)

This also means that Spain, where peace has set in, must have become an open social universe. In this world there are advanced and developing countries, national discord and class struggle, there are archaic antiquity, modernization and vague future.

This future, too, may have everything: who knows the future? there may be bad government, dangerous policies, crises, military bases....

Except one thing: the people can no longer curse their own diversity and tear themselves to pieces. They can no longer lose the trust of mankind, and horrify neighbours to such an extent that they start making arrangements behind their back and arm in fear of this people. They are alien but not of foreign origin. They are incapable, having lost common sense because of the irresistible horror, of attacking neighbours.

Such people, peacefully coexisting at home, can also peacefully coexist with other peoples. Only the people who have settled themselves "in a non-violent and nuclear-free world" can be an honest partner in the future universal non-violent and nuclear-free world of the Delhi Declaration.

In this case, the peaceful movement of such a people may take the next step—to become anti-war and ecological. Only if the established inner world is shaken by global disasters will man, reconciled with himself, feel responsible for the earth. Freedom established inside the country is protected by nuclear arsenals, that is, by the threat of general destruction, and the conscience of the free cannot become reconciled with this, even if there is no visible alternative as yet. And the countries whose customs, languages, self-government and character have been returned, are concerned not with an ecological crisis "in general" but with the fate of one particular stream, a particular village churchyard—a feature on their face.

But let's get back home, to the USSR. The revolution has gone down in the annals of history: there are practically no surviving participants in it. They have left us with their enmity, their passions. We can only guess their feelings, or read about them, but we do not feel ourselves.

Seventy years have passed since the time when somewhere in a basement revolutionaries shot the tsar and his whole family. It is 50 years since the time when revolutionaries were being shot in other basements, alternately with those who were shooting them. 43 years of Victory and 35 years since the death of the Tyrant.

And peace? Has eternal civic peace come to Russia?

True, the Law on the protection of peace was adopted long ago. Invented by Stalin, it "acts" invisibly up to this day, with no consequences and no passions. But our attitude to "enemies" is quite different—even to dead ones, without our knowing them at all. Only the meaning, the image of the enemy changes, but the search for it becomes more indefatigable and the nose for it sharper. The generalized "enemy of the people," officially withdrawn from use, has engendered a host of successors: "renegade," "revisionist," "people who sold themselves to the secret services," "dissident," "rabid anti-Soviet" and so on.

You could never utter a word about burying the cavalymen of Budyonny and the soldiers of Kolchak side by side. And how should they be buried—under a cross or a star...?

As innocents?—a lie. As guilty of our shame?—another lie. (There have been even more extreme pronouncements: sort out the "innocent" from the "guilty" and bury corpses separately, the first under a Memorial, the others in a pit.... In terms of blasphemy, this idea comes close to the desecration of a temple—looking for enemies even among corpses, in common pits, in the earth, where not only shoulder-straps but even mixed up bones cannot be found!

So far, it seems, our minds are formed in such a way that no sooner they let out one enemy they immediately need another. And if they don't find it they become sad, pine away and "lose ideological conviction." Such a spiritual state can be projected on the famous painting by Salvador Dali, showing a creature torturing itself. Even this will seem to us a realistic popular print.

The past century asked its main question without malicious intent: whose fault is it? The co-author of this question, Alexander Herzen, was one of the first to warn against trusting "revolutionary dentists." But, despite the warnings, all the mass ideologies of the century now drawing to its close were built on the idea of finding personal "culprits" for the evil of history and imperfection of social structures. These ideologies engendered mass-scale investigative consciousness. "Still preserved are exponents of bourgeois views and bourgeois morals"—dying Stalin inserted into the newspaper announcement of 1953 concerning the case of "doctors-killers—live people, covert enemies of our people." He underscored the word: live....

Live people—covert enemies. By the end of the 1930s, this monstrous equation of the civil war period, developing into omnicide, became established in Eurasia and turned politics into an absurd mincing-machine for peoples.

And, wherever this thought has not been cursed or condemned, wherever it is admitted in political practice, the search for criminal classes, national enemies and renegades—the "fifth column" which the investigative consciousness is always craving for, may resume there at any moment—from the top or from the bottom. Even when uttering the word "perestroika" such a mind believes: there are enemies! Secret, anonymous, terrible...! They are like us, they speak like we do, they are live people, they must be got rid of....

...A bureaucrat or a mason, a conservative or a Stalinist, a Russian or a Jew—the investigative consciousness clings to any type, any name, any difference to put into action its only working programme: the state of emergency. This consciousness regards peace as a natural disaster, normal life—as a catastrophe. The key word of this totalitarian programme is: enemy. Hence, progress (since investigative consciousness always stands for "progress") is conceived as general mobilization and tireless struggle against innumerable enemies. Progress is like a continuous social pogrom....

It must be admitted that this is sore consciousness. We are sick with contempt for our diversity. Perestroika is not simply a revolutionary process, it is a therapeutic one. Any therapist will proceed from the simple fact that, apart from the "correct" and "incorrect" life of the sick—alive but sick—organism, it has only one real alternative: death. Mankind has this alternative and the country has it too. From the therapist's point of view the threat of such an alternative equals the difference between two others. The future of a recovering person may be dazzling or modest: the main thing is that this future should exist.

Proceeding from the sober consciousness of this reality, perestroika inevitably resumes, and partly engenders the movement for peace in the USSR. The paramount problem here is that of preserving human life in its freedom, diversity and fullness. Problems must be posed and solved, but not by repressing the personality, or at any risk to its safety. There must be no blood. Only a non-violent world can become a nuclear-free world—and only in this sequence, not the other way round. But, for us in the USSR, this road is just beginning, and we are on the threshold only of its first, inner stage; that of becoming a peace in our own country, live in a non-violent community, with morally justified order, but not paralysed by force and fear.

Peace in the country, order and civic peace come first, then as a result—the struggle for "world peace."

"Peace to the world" is now not about the whole globe but about us in the USSR: to our restless federal world a real peaceful order. Spiritually, that old inner war has never ceased, it is still smouldering in souls, suddenly breaking loose from under the quiet ashes with flames of enmity and violence. And the Soviet peace movement is, above all, a movement to stop the state of civil war, whether under the name of "class" or "ideological struggle"—it's all the same. Fighting against thoughts and ideas we fight against our late ancestors and are in eternal discord with our own brain. While war is being waged on the dead, the people's intellect remains in the darkness and is ready for frenzied actions. And new victims among the living are likely.

Late in the 1980s the Soviet peace movement had a strange problem: it doubted its own existence. Among dozens of civic initiatives stimulated by perestroika there is nothing more evasive and problematic than the peace movement. Deprived of the religious impulses of Tolstoyism and generally without any kind of philosophy, it is also deprived of enthusiasm for negation, which is a usual thing for any informal movement irrespective of its stand. A Stalinist, "anti-bureaucrat," regionalist or ecologist see clearly their opponents, whereas a Soviet "peace champion," especially of an "anti-war" orientation, remains a secondary figure, imitating the actions of Western pacifism engendered by the cultural environment and the problems which are more or less speculative for us. The desperate struggle of local ecologists and national-cultural groups, the modest work of lone persons who have devoted themselves to charity, the feverish attempts of certain politicians and administrators to check the avalanche of problems without losing their warm house and bread and milk for their children, do not find a single spiritual dominating idea, and risk dissolving in a current of social enmity. An invaluable threat: it has already happened in the past. Who remembers today the heroic struggle of Vladimir Korolenko and Maksimilian Voloshin on two fronts: against red and white terror? Who was educated by the messages of the old man Kropotkin to the Council of People's Commissars, and by the desperate entreaties of Maxim Gorky in "The Inopportune."

The peace movement in the USSR was twice broken off, slandered and twice forgotten: at first by punishment, in the 1920s-1930s, which put an end to alternative military service, Tolstoyist, vegetarian communes, the political Red Cross society, local and district communities, and for a second time, artificially implanted by the end of the 1940s, in the form of official government pacifism, the so-called "struggle against warmongers," i.e., the "struggle for peace" all over the world—except the USSR.

For a Soviet person, official pacifism at best confirmed his reluctance to fight once again and to see a repetition of the war calamities, still fresh in his memory. Nobody wanted a war against America, but anyone would have been surprised to hear that peace means something

different from the way of life which he usually led. A peaceful life for a Soviet person of the late Stalinist epoch—before Chernobyl—was simply the life he lived, life without a war: a worker had his life, the oppressed village—its life, prisoners had their own as did those who protected them. All this was embraced by the official concept of the peaceful life of the Soviet people.

Never before did people talk and sing so much about peace as in the 1970s. "If only there were no wars"—the sarcastic password of those years, involuntarily turned into funny story, and there was no war, indeed, and no peace either. This is because all forms of peaceful human life were undermined, emasculated and limited, and those who spoke about this had a limited choice: be arrested or flee the country.

Then the unprecedented in Russia, entered some unknown person's head: let's accuse the intelligentsia lying! The words "slander of the system" were specially invented and introduced into the Criminal Code. It was lie, preceded only by the Inquisition, and unconscious and ideologically sacrilegious lie, especially loathsome. And a war broke out, a small internal war, a small victorious war which governments finding themselves in difficulty, like so much to wage. A war that lasted 20 years.

The Russians who "do not want a war," as it was sung in the well-known song, persecuted Galich for singing other songs, and those who sang together with him. But now the song of Galich "You dare to go into the square..." is sung at Komsomol meetings. But this song is about concrete people who came to Red Square on August 25, 1968 to prove, using the only means available, that they were not responsible for tanks going into Prague. The youth who really wanted peace and not only sang peace-loving songs ("Peace, we need peace to laugh...") read the novel by Pasternak and the annals of Solzhenitsyn 20 years ago, when these books were banned and when reading them was banned. They read the book banned by the government because they remembered from school that in the dispute between the government and literature in Russian the government was always wrong, and the poet was always right. And the war of the government writers is a civil war.

Having read "Dr. Zhivago" in the night, the contraband edition by Feltrinelli, with something of Platonov, Robert Orwell and Solzhenitsyn, they came into the square to preserve civic peace from arson. But other people who "did not want war," arrested and interrogated them.

Today it is easy to find out what the intellectuals were lying about: it's all in the newspapers. But there is another interesting point: not everything published today in the appears was yesterday the persecuted truth. For example, nobody knew that simultaneously with the World Forum of Peace in Moscow, there existed an underground concentration camp in Uzbekistan, with



concrete and steel chains, and a monument to Lenin standing on the ground above it. Adylov was torturing disagreeable people! It is very important to specify that not a single "liar" persecuted by the law in the 1970s, even the most embittered by falsehood and humiliation, reproached the "system" with anything like this.

This alone is enough to justify the complete rehabilitation of citizens condemned through the Inquisition and pseudojudicial procedure of the "struggle against dissidents" from 1965 to 1985. The demand for this rehabilitation is a natural, integral part of the Soviet peace movement's programme.

No, the Soviet people didn't want war when, at those shameful "meetings" on the occasion of the shooting down of the South Korean airliner, they "demonstrated" in support of the actions of the AA Defence Command. Nor did Americans, when they backed the President in a similar incident in the Persian Gulf—demonstrate to the world their inborn bloodthirstiness. But both acknowledged the reality which their politicians will have to deal with, in one way or another: spiritual unpreparedness for peace and unwillingness of war. The idea that peace is only the absence of war does not put the course of events under moral control. And this is a challenge to the peacemakers of 1980s-1990s: the lack of a genuine will for peace and without any war has engendered and will go on doing so without any bombs.

Today, peace is again becoming a deed in Russia.

When, at its spring session, the Soviet Peace Committee adopted the course of internal reconciliation and cooperation with informal peacemaking initiatives in the country, although with some hesitation—this was not only a comprehensive striving of an old institution to find its place in the changed reality, but also a sign of the thawing of the will for civic peace. The forms which decorative pacifism like so much: round-table conferences, seminars, walks, people's diplomacy—will be of use but not so much with overseas pacifists and humane millionaires, as with our own stubborn fellows!

Peacemakers are needed more in the country than outside.

For example, where were our peacemakers during the days in Sumgait: at a seminar in Venice, at a festival in Cannes? ...As soon as the news about this, alas, key event of the year was heard, the intelligentsia—ethnographers, sociopsychologists, linguists—whose number is so big when they have to receive a Western delegation, or when they have a chance to fly to the West, didn't turn up at the Transcaucasia. Why? In addition, from the West—India, Northern Ireland and the USA, you can bring experience, recommendations and advice to solve your problems, but not suitcases, or caps with hearts on them, and the valuable discovery that "the enemies are also people like ourselves!" (a thought which has never prevented a single war, act of violence or pogrom).

...I would like to imagine the impossible—maybe Dali could paint such a picture. A world congress of cookery specialists in Ethiopia perishing from hunger. A congress of aesthetes in Phnom Penh. Or a festival of doctors-pacifists in Chernobyl, with rock concerts, dinners and shooting for the newsreel. And how many such things happen because of moral ambiguity, under the name of the "struggle against war," in our country, which is not rich, but ulcerated by the past and recent events, where blood was shed again.

How many antiwar actions and get-togethers in the spirit of people's diplomacy have been after Chernobyl: thousand, ten thousand? If ever someone decides to write in the future about people's diplomacy in the Chernobyl era, the writer will recall not the walks, not the picnics of pacifists on the grass but Dr. Gale, and rightly so, because the others are meaningless. For peace, only those three, five, 50 or however many saved by Gale, a man without a Soviet passport, who cured the victims of the erroneous policy of the enemy-state, have meaning here.

And all our congresses and peaceloving kisses are only for this one man to save him from being seized and tortured, to save him from ever fearing this. If the anti-war Soviet intelligentsia could sacrifice—how awful—their summer leave and dachas, and struggle for peace in the Transcaucasia, perhaps there would have been no "airport crisis" in Yerevan, no shots would have been fired in September. After all, isn't the chance of saving at least the life of one of our countrymen—in a peaceful country and in peacetime—worth all the millions of the Peace Fund, the efforts of all staff members of the Soviet Peace Committee?

The peace movement in the USSR must learn to be stubborn. It will not even get off to a start until it becomes used to speaking the unpleasant truth to authorities and to the people—a deep-rooted habit in the experience of violence, in the demands for "just" violence, and in the dreams about noble and faultless violence.

The majority is never for peace in the exact Russian sense of this word, which means a comfortable and safe universe. Most people, naturally, prefer the conditions of peace to conditions of war—but are almost never ready for peace as spiritual work. Peace is the spiritual thirst for reality, diversity and freedom, and the will to non-violence as the condition of all this. To deaden this thirst is just as impossible as to implant it in a person who does not have it. Therefore, the struggle for peace is always the dialogue of the minority yearning for peace with the majority thirsting only for advantages of the absence of war. The peace movement, not being the majority, must become a voice heard from everywhere: smooth, honest, absolutely in tune and independent. The actions of politicians and the responses of the people will often ignore this voice, and then peacemakers must go into

action, if they exist in the country. They do exist, since peace—let's repeat Spinoza, and with pleasure—"is not the absence of war, but a virtue stemming from the firmness of the spirit."

**Journalist on Stalinist Purges of UkSSR Komsomol**

18110011a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 29 Oct 88 p 4

[Memoir excerpt, published under the heading "Pages From History," by Andrey Petrovich Varlamov: "How They Exposed 'Agents'"]

[Text] A party and Komsomol veteran, in the 1920's and 1930's journalist Andrey Petrovich Varlamov served as union center secretary, worked in the Slavyanskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee in the Donbass, in the political department at a machine and tractor station in Kherson Oblast, and held a Komsomol job assignment in Odessa, also serving as oblast committee first secretary. A. Varlamov discusses in his memoirs Komsomol activities in those years, as well as repressive measures taken against youth leaders. The following is an excerpt from these memoirs.

...

In contrast to past congresses, the 10th Ukrainian Komsomol Congress was held in November 1937 in a peculiar, oppressive atmosphere.

I recall the preceding congress, the Ninth. This was a swan song, one might say. There were delegates from the Donbass in miner's garb, there were delegates from Odessa in sailor's uniform, and there were delegates from Poltava in embroidered shirts and blouses.... Until the hall came to order there would be the noisy buzz of conversations, singing, and dancing.

All members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo took part in the congress proceedings. Kosior, Petrovskyy, Postishev, Yakir, and Zatonskyy gave brilliant speeches.

The atmosphere at the 10th Ukrainian Komsomol Congress was quite different. The ranks of party and Komsomol workers were decimated by arrests. There did not remain a single member of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Buro elected at the 9th Congress, nor did there remain a single Komsomol oblast committee secretary. This also applied to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. S. V. Kosior was the only one left of all the former members of the Politburo. He came to our congress. But he would frequently excuse himself and leave, stating that there was nobody left to do the work at the party Central Committee. He was the only speaker from the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) at our congress.

An organizational plenary session was held after the congress ended. It was convened by All-Union Komsomol Central Committee secretary Aleksandr Kosarev. Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee secretaries were elected—Usenko, Ohnennyy, and Kudinov—and department heads were ratified. Suddenly I heard a proposal—that Varlamov be approved as editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETs UKRAYINy

After the plenary session ended I went up to Kosarev: "Aleksandr Vasilyevich, how is it that you did not say anything to me and then suddenly proposed that I be appointed editor?"

"Are you kidding?" Kosarev replied. "You were at the meeting when we were discussing the membership of the Central Committee Buro. We agreed to confirm Shuyskiy as editor. When we were in Kosior's office he asked who Shuyskiy was. We said that he worked in the party department of the newspaper KOMMUNIST. Kosior commented: 'Komsomol is supposed to be providing cadres for party work, and yet you are taking someone from a party newspaper. Take someone from your own body of activists.' When we told him that there were no suitable candidates, Kosior suggested: 'Take Varlamov.'"

I did not want to leave Odessa. We had barely finished selecting cadres. I had so many schemes and various plans. I called a plenary meeting of the Komsomol oblast committee. We elected Chernenkyy secretary. I handed over my affairs to him and left for Kiev.

It was not easy to work in those times. A "struggle against the enemies of the people" hysteria was being increasingly whipped up throughout the country. This psychosis also made its way into our newspaper offices. The newspaper was instructed to "expose enemies of the people within Komsomol."

A few days after I took over the newspaper, a young man walks into my office and asks: "Are you the editor?"

"I am."

"I am enemy of the people (he gave his name).

"What kind of a joke is this?"

"You are the one who is joking. Your newspaper calls me an enemy of the people. I shall not leave Kiev until you retract this accusation. Or else put me in jail...."

I asked the lad to come back the following day, so that I could have time to look into the situation. I called in the article's author, staff literary critic Valentin Rechmedin, and asked him: "Valentin, is this lad truly an enemy of the people?"

"Of course not! He is a graduate student at the Dnepropetrovsk Rail Transport Engineering Institute."

"Then why did you write that he is an enemy?"

"I did not write that. I was given an assignment by the newspaper editorial offices secretariat to travel to Dnepropetrovsk and bring back material on enemies of the people in Komsomol. Upon my arrival I went to the city Komsomol offices. I was told that there would be a stormy meeting that day at the institute. I attended the meeting. At the meeting it was reported that a friend of this boy had been arrested. That is what I wrote. But at the secretariat they changed the text to state that he is an enemy of the people...."

I ordered the newspaper to clear the boy's name. Some of the members of the editorial board objected, it is true. They warned me: "Watch out, Andrey, you could get burned on this."

In January 1938 S. V. Kosior was summoned to Moscow to take the position of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, while continuing to be a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee Politburo. N. S. Khrushchev was sent to the Ukraine to replace him.

In May of that same year Kosior was arrested in Moscow. A "third round of arrests" began in the Ukraine. This time they arrested those "who had worked with Kosior." A representative of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, Opendak, came from Moscow to Kiev. His instructions were to "expose Kosior's agents in Komsomol." I was one of the members of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Buro who was "exposed." I was charged with being nominated by the secretary of the oblast Komsomol committee at the same time when Yevtushenko was oblast committee secretary in Odessa. And he was subsequently revealed to be a member of a "counterrevolutionary organization created in the Ukraine by Kosior." I was expelled from membership in the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee and Buro and fired as editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETs UKRAINY.

On the night of 6-7 November 1938 five Komsomol officials were arrested in Kiev—Pyenko, Masyurenko, Makarenko, Avrashko, and Kerbel. They were accused of comprising a terrorist group which was plotting to assassinate N. S. Khrushchev on the speaker's stand during the holiday demonstration in honor of the 21st anniversary of the October Revolution.

As a result of the most cruel acts of torture used on them, all five signed an interrogation deposition which stated that they were terrorists and had been planning an assassination. The arrestees were thoroughly intimidated. Pyenko was the only one to recant before a military tribunal the testimony he had provided during the investigation, declaring that he had signed the deposition under torture. The tribunal rejected this statement and sentenced all five to execution by firing squad.

The execution did not take place, however. Yezhov was removed from office precisely at that time, and panic broke out in the NKVD. All five boys were cleared of the charges, released from custody, and reinstated in the party. Makarenko was assistant editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETs UKRAINY when I was serving as editor. After his release from prison he came to my home and got on his knees before my wife, begging her forgiveness for giving testimony against me during the investigation. He told us how the investigators had treated him and what inhuman torture they had inflicted.

Events moved swiftly following the arrest of the five. A few days later they arrested Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Secretary Usenko. Soon after that they arrested the entire Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Buro, including me. The reason? Kosarev was an enemy of the people. He had attended the Ukrainian Komsomol congress, that is, he had put his own enemy agents into leadership posts. I was hauled off to Moscow and thrown into the Lubyanka, the internal prison of the USSR NKVD. They were moving the Kosarev affair along with dispatch, and they wanted to make us all "available" to the investigators.

I was summoned to my first interrogation at 2 a.m. Two big heavy fellows, grasping me by the elbows, led me down a hall to an interrogation room. A uniformed officer about 40 years of age was seated at a desk. This was investigator Babich, as I later learned.

After filling in deposition forms with my biographical data and warning me that I would be held criminally liable for untrue statements, he then said: "Now tell us about your hostile activities...."

I stoutly denied this accusation.

"You think about it, think it over!"

I replied that I had a good memory and there was nothing to think about....

The first interrogation ended peaceably enough; later there were insults and threats. We were not allowed to sit during an interrogation. Prisoners would pass out from the constant standing, lack of sleep, and poor diet. The weightiest argument the investigator had to influence an interrogee was the threat to send him to Lefortovo.

Lefortovo Prison was fully equipped to perform the most sophisticated torture techniques. The investigator was unable to carry out his threat, however. Clouds began to gather over his boss, Yezhov, and his subordinate. Preparations were being made to hold the 18th Party Congress. The people had to be told what was going on in the country, for the repressive measures had affected millions of people. The majority of members of the Central Committee and even the majority of delegates to the 17th Party Congress had been killed. It was obvious to



anybody with common sense that it was not enemies of the people who were being executed. Stalin had to find a scapegoat, and he decided to sacrifice Yezhov. The latter's place was taken by Stalin's faithful servant Beriya.

And at first, having heard about this, everybody in the cell was overjoyed. Since Yezhov had been removed, that meant that the Yezhov reign of terror had come to an end. This meant that we would be going home.

Sometime in March I was on two occasions summoned to an interrogation. This time it was a different investigator, a young man. The investigator informed me that the investigation had been concluded, and unless something unforeseen happened, I would be released and allowed to go home. He gave me the investigation report to read. I took the file folder and opened it. The first sheet was a telegram sent from Moscow to the Ukrainian NKVD: "Arrest Varlamov, Andrey Petrovich, year of birth 1908, and deliver him promptly to the USSR NKVD. Deputy People's Commissar Beriya."

The was followed by materials containing my detailed biography, interrogation transcripts, and denunciatory reports from Odessa and Kiev that I "did not combat the enemies of the people within Komsomol." I learned from the file that I had been arrested on the basis of testimony by former Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee secretary Usenko. He had been accused of being the leader of a counterrevolutionary organization within Ukrainian Komsomol. Subjected to cruel torture, he confessed to this charge and named a number of Komsomol officials, including myself, who allegedly were members of the counterrevolutionary youth organization led by him.

I was released from custody at the beginning of January 1939.

I headed for the telegraph office. As I walked along I was wondering how things were going at home.

My wife fainted when she received the telegram. Our neighbors (our two families shared an apartment) assured her: "Don't get excited; somebody is playing a joke. People don't return from there."

But times were changing. Following the 18th Party Congress they gradually began releasing those who were still being held under investigation.

Thus ended my Komsomol experience. Although it did end tragically, I am grateful to Komsomol for putting me on my feet, a homeless waif, for educating me into a Communist, and for ushering me into adulthood.

#### **N. D. Kondratyev's Economic Approach Judged Relevant to Current Planning**

18300031 Moscow *MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA* in Russian No 9, Sep 88 pp 59-61

[Article by N. Makasheva under the rubric "From the History of Economic Thought": "N. D. Kondratyev: A Brief Biographical Sketch (On the 50th Anniversary of His Death)"]

[Text] When it comes to manifestations of recent years in the vanguard of lawfully governed phenomena, we may cite without reservation the increased interest aroused in the work of the economists of the 1920's. This difficult time, marking the youthful emergence of Soviet science, gave rise to a an entire galaxy of outstanding scholars, who were guided in their endeavors by a single criterion—scientific truth. This meant not relinquishing their scholarly integrity in favor of ideological and political guidelines or of their own personal welfare. Nikolay Dmitriyevich Kondratyev (1892-1938), whose brilliant and tragic fate reflects the stormy epoch of social upheaval in the 1920's and 1930's, was one such eminent scholar.

N. D. Kondratyev made noteworthy contributions to methodological principles of planning and predicting economic change during the transition period, ways of transforming agriculture, macroeconomic regulation, and a theory of market conditions and economic dynamics. His work marks the beginning of a whole series of scientific advances the significance of which we only now thoroughly understand.

Interest in the life and times of N. D. Kondratyev and his scientific heritage is at present very great. Witness his published work, which is now being edited for wider circulation in print. After more than half a century, however, during which his name has not been mentioned and his work consigned to oblivion, there are many aspects of the life and scientific advances of N. D. Kondratyev that remain little known.

Nikolay Dmitriyevich Kondratyev was born 17(4) March 1892 in Goluyevskiy Village, Kineshema District, Kostroma Province (Kineshmenskiy Rayon is now located in Ivanovo Oblast) in a peasant family with many children. He received his elementary education in his native district at a church school, a parochial teacher-training institution, and a special school of agriculture and horticulture before continuing his general education by attending the courses of A. S. Chernyayev in Petersburg. In 1911 N. Kondratyev passed his secondary-school examinations as an external student and then enrolled with the faculty of law at the University of Petersburg.

During his studies in Petersburg Kondratyev participated actively in a series of scientific study circles and seminars presided over by leading representatives of the

Russian social sciences of that day. Prominent among them were M. I. Tugan-Baranovskiy, the well-known economist; A.S. Lappo-Danilevskiy, historian and academician; M. M. Kovalevskiy, sociologist and ethnographer; M. I. Petrazhitskiy, jurist; V. V. Svetlovskiy, economist and historian; and P. P. Migulin, economist. In 1915, after successfully defending his thesis for a diploma entitled "Developing the Services of the Kineshma Zemstvo of Kostroma Province," which was published that year in Kineshma, N. D. Kondratyev remained in the university with the department of economics and statistics in preparation, as he wrote at the time, "for a professional calling." Concurrently with his scholarly work at the university, N. D. Kondratyev served as the head of the department of economics and statistics of the Zemstvo Union in Petersburg.

In a stormy time of pre-revolutionary strife, the interests of the young scholar were concentrated on agrarian problems and food supply for the people.

With regard to land reform he supported the program of the Social Revolutionaries for socialization of the land according to principles of equal land use for the working people. (Footnote 1) The position of Kondratyev on ways of moving the peasants towards socialism had already taken shape. While acknowledging in principle the superiority of large-scale agricultural production as compared to small-scale peasant farming, the solution to the task of raising agricultural production and creating a potential for export at the existing stage of history was in his mind functionally related to the development of individual peasant farms and, consequently, their voluntary cooperation.

In 1917 questions of land organization were hotly debated by the many organizations that came into being after the February Revolution for the purpose of preparing the ground for agrarian reform. Along with a number of specialists in agrarian problems (including A. V. Chayanov, A. N. Chelintsev, and N. P. Makarov), N. D. Kondratyev participated in the work of the League of Agrarian Reform, the Commission on Agrarian Reform attached to the Main Land Committee, and in the work of the committee itself. At the same time he was a member, and subsequently associate chairman, of the State Food Committee. After serving in this position, on 18(3) October 1919 N. D. Kondratyev was appointed associate minister of food supply in the last Provisional Government.

In December 1917 N. D. Kondratyev took part in the work of the All-Russian Food Supply Conference, which convened in Moscow, and he was chosen to be a member of the Constituent Assembly.

In early 1918 the scholar traveled to Moscow, where his activities were closely associated with the cooperative movement. Kondratyev became a member of the Council of United Agricultural Cooperatives; he lectured at the Cooperative Institute, and he worked at the Central

Association of Flax Growers. He devoted most of his attention to economic problems associated with cooperative systems, and primarily to the principles governing the operations of agricultural produce markets. An entire series of works appeared in the wake of these studies, including, among others, "The Production and Sale of Oil Seeds as a Function of the Peasant Economy" and "The Grain Market and Its Regulation During the War and Revolution."

In 1919 the scientific interests of N. D. Kondratyev brought him to the Petrovsk Agricultural Academy (now the Agricultural Academy imeni K. A. Timiryazev), where he participated in the work of the Advanced Seminar of Agricultural Economy and Politics (under the leadership of A. V. Chayanov), soon to be renamed The Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Economy. In September 1920 N. D. Kondratyev became a professor, and in 1923 he was named head of the Department of Agricultural Market Studies of the Petrovsk Agricultural Academy.

An event of particular importance for N. D. Kondratyev was the founding in October 1920 of the Institute for the Study of National Economic Conditions (Market Study Institute), whose associates under N. D. Kondratyev's leadership conducted scientific research on problems of market conditions, combining profound theoretical analysis with efforts to resolve important practical tasks posed by party and economic organs. The institute published a large number of scientific monographs, a journal entitled "The Economic Bulletin," and periodically a collection of articles entitled "Questions of Market Conditions," the editor of which was N. D. Kondratyev. In the early 1920's his own works on market conditions appeared, including a book entitled "The World Economy and Market Conditions During and After the War" and articles entitled "Concepts of Statics, Dynamics, and Economic Conditions" and "Major Cycles of Market Conditions."

In 1924 N. D. Kondratyev made a long journey to the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Germany to study local agricultural production organizations, to acquire an insight into agricultural development trends in these countries, and to gain an understanding of their roles in the world market with a view to improving the market position of our own country.

On his return from abroad N. D. Kondratyev continued his work in the fields of prediction and planning, principles of management, and market conditions research. In February 1926 at the Institute of Economics of the Russian Association of Scientific Research Institutes of Social Science he delivered a lecture entitled "Major Cycles of Market Conditions," which proved to be of fundamental value in shaping the future direction of world science.

In the summer of 1925, "The Basic Principles of a Long-Term Plan for the Development of Agriculture and Forestry" was presented to the Presidium of Gosplan. The principles referred to had been incorporated into the Land Plan [Zemplan] with the very active involvement of N. D. Kondratyev and subsequently became known as "Kondratyev's five-year plan for agriculture." The document expressed the fundamental position of the scholar with respect to agricultural development. Implementation of the general directives of the party and the state for speeding the development of productive forces and developing an industrial type of agrarian economy was linked by Kondratyev and his colleagues with a considerably broadened base for the supply of raw materials to industry, and with accelerating the process of acquiring and increasing the tax-paying and purchasing power of the population. All of this made the task of expanding agricultural production especially urgent, the solution to which, in turn, presupposed stimulating economic initiative and independence on the part of the producers of agricultural produce, increasing capital accumulation on the farms, improving forms of management, and so on. The so-called "five-year plan for agriculture" aroused a good deal of criticism in the course of discussion, but the principles enunciated in it were not renounced.

The discussion about the projected development of the national economy was more crucial, and it was of as far-reaching consequence for the fate of the economics scholars as it was for our planning. In the course of this discussion fundamental differences of opinion became sharply drawn between those who upheld the idea of strict centralization, as a drastic measure due to the resources of agriculture, and those who considered it important to take into consideration the objective possibilities of economics and to observe a proportional balance in the development of industry and agriculture, as primary and secondary subdivisions, and so on. N. D. Kondratyev spoke up sharply against the first point of

view. He underscored the necessity of reconciling the directives to accelerate the development of industrialization with a concomitant growth of agriculture, without which, in his opinion, successful social and economic development in the future would be impossible.

Amidst the intensification of Stalinist repressions, the position of N. D. Kondratyev and those who shared his views was declared hostile to the work of building socialism, and they themselves were counted among its enemies as members of the "peasant workers party." At a closed judicial hearing in 1931, N. D. Kondratyev was sentenced to eight years in prison. In 1938 a second sentence was imposed, and he was executed by a firing squad.(Footnote 2)

As a true scholar and patriot, even in prison as he struggled to overcome dire illness and the onset of blindness, N. D. Kondratyev did not cease his investigative efforts. He continued his work on the dynamics of capitalist and socialist economics, and worked out entirely novel ideas in the field of macroeconomic modeling and productive functions, anticipating much that was eventually to be done in global economic science.

#### Footnotes

1. N. D. Kondratyev joined the Social Revolutionaries during the period of the Revolution of 1905 as a teenager, and he left the party in 1919.

2. Subsequently, both sentences were reversed in view of the absence of elements of a crime, and in July 1987 N. D. Kondratyev, together with a number of other economists, was fully rehabilitated.

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"Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1988



**Rybakov Describes Promotional Trip Abroad**  
18000343 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian No 49, 7 Dec 88 p 7

[Interview with Anatoliy Rybakov by A. Zotikov, under the "Literary Panorama" rubric: "Work for Perestroyka"]

[Text] The novel "Deti Arbata" [Children of the Arbat] appeared a year and a half ago in the pages of the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV. The controversy which surrounded the novel and its instantaneous success among the mass reader has made it a phenomenon in the social and literary life of our country. But today's conversation with its author, Anatoliy Rybakov, concerns how the foreign readers relate to "Deti Arbata"—those in whose hearts the words "enemy of the people," does not leave an especially bitter taste, nor shame, for the events which took place in his native country. I think it will be rather easy for my interlocutor to answer this question; you see, he recently returned from a two-month-long trip to the countries of Western Europe, where he took part in a program of introduction of his books. But first, a few words about something else.

[Zotikov] Anatoliy Naumovich, does it not seem to you that a strange situation has taken shape of late: on the one hand the unmasking of Stalin's crimes, in spite of its moral significance, has already begun to irritate a portion of the readership; and on the other hand, it seems to be getting nowhere—after all, in many instances the pronouncements on this topic have used up all the expressions of ordinary emotion, and err on the side of banality. Is it not time to somehow "secure" the official disclosures made by our press over the last three years in this area, and begin to delve more deeply into the problem? Perhaps we need our own "white book"—a martyrology and a list of losses—which would be a guarantee for the future, an "anti-recoil mechanism;" and, in addition, it would do away with the need to talk about one and the same thing all the time; to prove over and over what has already been proven, which leads only to emotion?

[Rybakov] My article in a recent issue of MOSKOVS-KIYE NOVOSTI begins with the words, "It's always about Stalin, about Stalin... No matter which newspaper or magazine you open—they are all swearing at Stalin. How long can you swear? Enough already! It's easy to lump all the blame on the dead. It's been 35 years since Stalin died. During all that time was it really impossible to correct what he, as they insist, did?... There are grounds for such talk." And so you see, we are in agreement as to the analysis of the situation. Of course, the process of exposing the crimes of Stalin was necessary; this subject should bring us no peace. The sad thing is, that hundreds of people are showing up who have nothing to say; they have another purpose—"to be noticed." "Me too. I had to struggle too..." Therefore the reader begins to lose faith in this information—there is a great deal in it that is not authentic, and is purely

emotional. A "weariness with the subject" springs up, and I can understand that full well. Someone is already writing about Vasilii Stalin, and accusing him of all sorts of sins. But he, in essence, was a victim. Of course, I believe that it is necessary to publish some sort of official document, which would in the name of the higher governmental authorities describe those times, without mincing words; and that such a book would be in the book stores—here it is, buy it if you please, and read the officially-recorded information, documents and archival data on the crimes of that time, and not only then. Perhaps then we will stop marking time... But even such a book should not deprive writers of the right to an artistic version of the events.

[Zotikov] Your novel was such an artistic version; it has now become famous abroad as well. Please tell us about your latest trip.

[Rybakov] It was an extensive advertising campaign for the introduction of my book, in which I had to take part. The novel has unexpectedly spread throughout the whole world—it is being published in 30 countries. I can list them: England, where books are also published for Australia and New Zealand; France, the FRG, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Iceland, China, Japan, Israel, Algeria, the USA, Brazil, South Korea, Mongolia, and India. Moreover, wherever the novel went it became a best-seller. In France, for example, the first week after publication it was already in fifth place on the best-seller list. In Italy (also the first week) it was in second place. In England, it was in ninth place (which means it also fell within the top ten). And so on in all the countries. One might ask, why was there such interest in the book? For the West, the topic is not all that new. Stalin and the 1930's? They already have a vast amount of literature on that, and the problem is not all that interesting for them, as it is to us... The first reason, it seems to me, is interest in everything that is taking place in our country, including the publications which have come to light in recent times. The second reason is, that the book was written on a traditional note, and was intended for the very widest readership. And well, the last thing is, I'd like to think that the novel is simply interesting to read.

The trip was very intensive; sometimes I gave four to five interviews a day. In my ten days in the FRG, I flew to seven cities. Often I went to a TV studio straight from the airplane; then—to an interview with newspaper correspondents; and in the evenings, I autographed books in a store. It is interesting that one-fourth of the books which I autographed were printed in the Russian language.

[Zotikov] Did the people really decide to study the Russian language in order to read "Deti Arbata" in the original?

[Rybakov] No, they are sending these books to their friends in the Soviet Union, where they are very hard to get.

[Zotikov] What were you asked about most in meetings with your readers?

[Rybakov] "Perestroika—is this a reversible process or an irreversible one?" They understand the elements of perestroika, and the people are interested in the prospects for its development and whether it will last long. Besides that, they ask questions about the problem of national relationships, and about the difficulties with food in our country. On the whole there is a vast amount of interest in the Soviet Union.

[Zotikov] How do the questions from your Western audience, concerning the substance of the book, differ from the questions from our fellow-countrymen?

[Rybakov] They are very similar. The one curiosity is the fact that the Western readers are least of all interested in the problems connected with the personality of Stalin. The main question about the novel was, "What was the subsequent fate of Sasha and Varya?" On the whole, of course, as with us, the readers are divided into two groups: those who found the novel interesting as such, and those who are interested in the politics in it. The difference is only that, among the foreign readers the former group is the larger one.

[Zotikov] Well, at present one can evidently judge the future of Sasha and Varya with somewhat more confidence than before: Recent issues of DRUZHBA NARODOV have published the first book of the novel "Tridsat pyatyy i drugiye gody" [1935 and Other Years], and a second one has been announced for next year. But nevertheless, when you were writing "Deti Arbata," which reader were you thinking about the most; what was more important to you—creating an artistic structure, or transmitting critical social information?

[Rybakov] I was writing about my youth, which occurred in the 1930's. The basic locale of action is the same as in my books on my childhood ("Kortik" [The Dagger], "Bronzovaya ptitsa" [The Bronze Bird], and "Vystrel" [The Shot])—Moscow, Arbat, 51. Incidentally, Sasha Pankratov and Nina Ivanova appeared already in

"Vystrel," as episodic personalities. I hadn't intended writing about Stalin at all, but then I recognized that to speak about that time without referring to Stalin was impossible, inasmuch as he had penetrated every pore of our society at that time. It was as if he had begun to push the other heroes aside, and demanded more and more space. And so, I hadn't planned anything "sensational."

[Zotikov] What is your attitude toward the "aesthetic" pretensions on "Deti Arbata" made by a number of critics?

[Rybakov] To write simply is hardest of all. And certain people think, for some reason, that simplicity also means a lack of artistry. Or they talk about historic inaccuracies... Lev Tolstoy wrote: "The task of an artist and that of an historian are altogether different." And so, all the inaccuracies which they allegedly find there—are a result of the fact that the very method of illuminating events differs for an artist and a historian."

[Zotikov] When you began to write the novel, were you counting upon its immediate publication?

[Rybakov] I understood that at that time it could not appear in the press; but in order for goods to appear in a store, they must first be produced in a factory. Just so here. The novel was announced, and not printed, in NOVYY MIR, as you know, back in 1966. And nevertheless I continued to write it. And when the possibility of its publication appeared, it was ready.

[Zotikov] You were saying that "Deti Arbata" was perceived abroad as "an ambassador of perestroika." The novel has become a kind of mark of perestroika in our country too. Does a fate such as this for your literary work suit you?

[Rybakov] Of course. Everything that works in favor of perestroika is needed. My novel works in favor of perestroika—thus it is also needed. In the early 1980's, in replying to a question from a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, "Why don't you publish your novel in the West?" I replied that it is need primarily at home. I will be happy if it brings some good to my country and to my people.

**'Bureaucratization' Blamed for Shadow Economy, Organized Crime**

18120034 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 46, 20-27 Nov 88 p 12

[Article by Gennady Khokhryakov, LLD: "The Shadow Economy and the Administrative Command System"]

[Text] "Mafia", "racket", "laundered money": these terms are increasingly cropping up in our reality. The press runs sensational reports: about the Sochi-Krasnodar fraud, about investigators' on-going work in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, about criminal trials in progress. But it is also important to analyze the causes and structure of this organized crime.

Yevgeny Galkin, Anatoly Volobuyev and Valery Pakhomov of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Research Institute study organized crime. They see it as a pyramid. "MN" asked Gennady Khokhryakov, LLD, to describe the structure.

**Shortage in a Land of Plenty**

Researchers are right to look for the roots of organized crime in the shadow economy. This economy's connections with illicit business make it akin to a mafia—but not quite. Organized crime here is rooted in the bureaucratization of society, in the administrative-command system whose methods invariably breed an alternative economy.

The bureaucratic system is based on economic relations which require constant non-economic coercion, hence administration by injunction. This type of economic relations logically resulted in peculiar shortages. These shortages coexisted with wastefulness and tremendous stocks of raw and processed materials. According to some estimations, the reserve stocks of the new disbanded State Committee for Farming Technology were 20 percent greater than the norm at the end of the last five-year period. The state annually supplies enterprises with 500,000 roubles' worth of resources over and above their production requirements.

To sell or exchange this "hoard" independently was next to impossible. So they started to dispose of it illegally. Thus everyone saw the solution to the dilemma either in forgetting profit considerations and working as they were told or in violating the rules and instructions.

**Dealers in the Alternative Market**

Administration by injunction created mountains of unnecessary goods at any given moment in any given area. So there emerged an army of "pushers" known as "tolkachi", intermediaries who knew this chaos inside out. Thus the ground was prepared for the appearance in the late 60's of an underground market which was corrupt right from the start.

The underground market did evil under the guise of good. It bred double morals. Bribe-takers, profiteers and pilferers were publicly condemned while many people resorted to their services because they could really satisfy their customers even if the prices were high. Hundreds of people involved in, say, the notorious "cotton affair" received and took bribes, robbed and were robbed, thus helping uphold the policy described in the Party documents as one that was cast into usual patterns perfectly corresponding with the structure of society.

Secret dealers stopped concealing their incomes in the 70's. And why not, if they had no less reasons to be pleased with themselves than bureaucrats who showed off their sham achievements. It was also at that time that crimes were committed by rival thieves. Many criminals who got caught trying to sell stolen jewelry owned up to stealing but this was denied by the people they had robbed. So these "Robin Hoods" had no trouble with the law because they were robbing those who preferred to keep in the shade. In the mid-70's this gave way to the second level of the pyramid. In this case, too, criminals found a common language with bureaucrats.

**Guards and Go-Betweens**

That did not last for long. The rival sides needed each other, so they quickly came to an agreement. Part of the second-level criminals converted into bodyguards while the other part became go-betweens because those who did the stealing were tied to their places of employment. Predictably, things moved faster with the delegation of functions. The second level had a group to carry out crimes. It maintained links between the operators and full-time thieves, drug dealers, etc.

To minimize the risk of someone being caught somewhere down the line, there was a need to have "their people on the inside"—in the bodies of power and most certainly in the organs of law enforcement.

Underground marketeers also depended for prestige and security on important functionaries from the bureaucratic hierarchy. These functionaries could take direct part in specific swindles or serve as a front. Thus the internal development of organized crime resulted in the formation of so-called security groups.

**Elite**

This complex system of relations needed one person or a group of persons who could constantly control these numerous relations. This could be hardly done by someone in the power structures. He would be too exposed. I think it is not without foundation that organized crime experts Gurov, Galkin and Volobuyev say that in crime world there are elite groups or individual leaders who control the operation of large criminal organizations in different parts of the country. Even such high-placed



officials like ministers, city mayors or Party functionaries can't play the first fiddle. They would be on the "lookout" to prevent a flop, or, if the criminals wind up in the slammer, secure their release.

Organized crime is special in that its leaders mainly supervise operation which can't be punished by courts. For example, they may get a ministry official to agree to send scarce goods to town N instead of to town B, where useful people would know how to distribute the goods.

The experts propose using the term "criminal community" alongside the term "organized crime". This community is not only separate from the rest of society but it also has its morals and norms of behaviour, and its own honour code. Its leading groups' functions resemble those of trade unions: they see to easing the "labour" conditions, provide for recreation facilities and insurance. But they stay away from taking direct part in criminal operations.

The criminal community has all the distinctive features of an organization: a hierarchy, a delegation of functions, division of spheres of influence, intertwined internal relations, its own think tank, pay window, which—according to people in the know—runs into millions. And one of the distinguishing features of organized crime is its connection with bodies of the official power.

One should not underestimate the potentials and danger of criminal communities. The most efficient way to combat them is to destroy the base of the pyramid—the specific conditions of the administrative-command system and the shadow economy which breed organized crime in this country. There are specific methods to combat them. It should be remembered that organized crime will not just go away all by itself. It can manoeuvre through cooperatives, individual enterprise and professional crime, etc., to take on a purely economic look. But this is a subject for a separate discussion.

#### **New RSFSR Criminal Code Addresses Rise in Extortion**

18000494a Moscow *SOVetskaya Rossiya*  
in Russian 14 Jan 89 p 2

[Comment by S. A. Yemelyanov, RSFSR procurator: "A Decree Against Racketeering"]

[Text] Recently the public has been increasingly demanding that the fight against extortion be stepped up. Our correspondent asked S. A. Yemelyanov, RSFSR procurator, to discuss the legislative measures being taken to combat this dangerous phenomenon.

"In recent years law enforcement organs have increasingly encountered instances of extortion of state, public, cooperative or personal property. *SOVetskaya Rossiya* and other mass media have begun presenting this subject

in ever more alarming tones, particularly with regard to the need for reliable legal protection for persons involved in cooperative or individual labor activity."

"It should be noted that previous legislation already provided criminal penalties for extortion of state, public and personal property. In 1987 and the first six months of 1988 over 500 people were convicted of such crimes."

"However, this legislation was imperfect and allowed dangerous criminals to avoid prosecution. The penalties imposed were not appropriate to the degree of public threat posed by such crimes, particularly those committed repeatedly on the basis of a conspiracy of a group of individuals either accompanying their crimes with violence or causing other serious consequences."

"In view of this the RSFSR Procuracy in conjunction with other law enforcement organs submitted a proposal to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning improvements in criminal legislation and harsher penalties for the crime of extortion."

"On 12 January 1989 the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a decree entitled 'On Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code'."

"In their new versions articles 95 and 148 of the Criminal Code, which pertain to extortion, now state that demands to transfer state, cooperative, public or personal property under threat of violence to the person to whom the property belongs or under whose supervision or protection it is, under threat of violence against persons close to that person, under threat of public announcement of humiliating information concerning him or persons close to him, or under threat of harm to or destruction of the property in question can result in a penalty of up to four years' imprisonment with confiscation of property."

"These same actions if committed repeatedly or according to a previous conspiracy among a group of individuals, under threat of murder or serious bodily injury or in connection with violence which does not represent a threat to life and health or with damage to or destruction of the property in question are punishable by up to seven years' imprisonment with confiscation of property."

"Extortion carried out by an organized group or particularly dangerous recidivist or in connection with violence which represents a threat to life and health or causes major damages and other serious consequences is punishable by imprisonment for a period of 5-10 years with confiscation of property."

"The adoption of this new legislation is one step toward intensification of the struggle against organized crime and will facilitate more reliable protection of citizens' rights, including the rights of citizens involved in cooperative or individual labor activity."

**Ukrainian MVD Discusses New Crime-Solving Methods, Equipment**

18000404b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
8 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by N. Svichkolap: "A Criminal Leaves Behind Clues"]

[Text] The UkSSR MVD held a briefing for journalists devoted to the use of crime-solving technology to catch criminals.

Even the most jaded reader, in the habit of reading a new detective novel each night while drifting off to sleep, would be amazed at what he would see when the expert criminological service opens the doors to its labs. Spectrographs, gas chromatographs, laser microanalyzers, electronic and optical image translators—with the help of this and much more modern equipment the expert sections of our republic internal affairs organs perform over 80,000 experiments and analyses every day. Thanks to the painstaking work of expert criminologists over 5,000 crimes have been solved during the past year alone.

Chemical, physical, biological and motor vehicle-related specialized fields have undergone development, as has the analysis of objects used as evidence. The arsenal of such methods is broad and diverse. It is necessitated by the wide range of complex practical tasks faced by these experts.

"I must admit that crimes are getting more complicated," said V. S. Antonov, a militia colonel. "Sometimes it is simply amazing how highly 'skilled,' if I may use that term, some criminals have become. But credit where credit is due: many of our experts are constantly working to make our operations more efficient. Of the 87 efficiency proposals submitted by them last year 59 have already been put into practice."

Recently forensic odorology has come into widespread use in the Ukraine. Experts have begun taking a sample of a criminal's scent and storing it for lengthy periods of time, preserving it until it can be used in the investigation of suspects.

The use of technical means makes it possible to identify a criminal's personality, devise possible crime scenarios and solutions, define methods of operation and pinpoint those individuals who have previously committed similar crimes.

Today's criminologist cannot do without the now-customary night-vision instruments, metal detectors, nonuniformity detectors which make it possible to detect the presence of anomalies in any substance, and so forth.

The expert criminological service is playing an important role in the eradication of crime; its task is to be the conduit of scientific and technical progress in militia operations.

**Moscow Obkom Examines Profusion of Unjustified Criminal Proceedings**

18000120 Moscow LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA  
in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Moscow Committee Buro"]

[Text] At its regular session yesterday, the CPSU Moscow Committee discussed the question of "The Cases of Unjustified Institution of Criminal Proceedings Against Citizens Permitted By The Oblast's Law Enforcement Agencies".

The party obkom buro noted that, in their work, the internal affairs agencies (oblast procurator's office and the court) permitted violations of socialist law and cases where unjustified criminal proceedings were instituted against citizens. Over the past year and a half, 150 people, one third of whom were accused between 1984-1986 and who have been under investigation for more than 3 years, were released from custody on the grounds that they had been rehabilitated. In 1987 and the first half of 1988, the obkom buro restored 32 people to the party rolls because they were innocent. Twenty six of these communists had earlier had unjustified criminal proceedings instituted against them by oblast law enforcement agencies.

It was emphasized at the session that an examination of the reasons for these violations of socialist law by law enforcement agencies indicates oversimplification in the application of laws, a superficial appraisal of evidence, a display of subjectivity and a bias toward guilt when accusing citizens, and disregard for the principle of presumption of innocence.

The infringements of the legal rights and interests of citizens which were permitted resulted from unsatisfactory oversight by the procurator of the oblast procurator's office and its investigatory management, and also from serious dereliction of duty by the Main Administration for Internal Affairs [GUVd] of the Moscow Oblispokom in organizing the activities of the investigation sections.

The buro also noted at the session that the Moscow Oblast Court, in reviewing cases during the appeal procedure, condones violations of the law, does not correct court errors in a timely manner, does not question whether the accused are responsible, and does a poor job of reviewing court practices. Over the past year and a half, 23 public courts illegally convicted citizens.

The Judiciary Department of the Moscow Oblispolkom is not sufficiently exacting and demanding of the chairmen of the City Department of Public Courts [gornarsudov] for improvement of judicial quality and effectiveness.

The boards of the Moscow Oblast procurator's office, the GUVd of the Moscow Oblispolkom, the Judiciary Department and the Presidium of the Moscow Oblast Court are adopting measures to influence through discipline those officials who violate socialist law. They have punished 44 procurator and investigation workers, including 12 city and rayon procurators and 7 deputies, and also 35 workers from the investigation sections of the militia. A number of workers have been relieved of duty and fired from procurator and internal affairs departments. At the same time, given the appraisal of the cases of legal violations, we still have not created and atmosphere of strict punishment among the personnel nor increased feelings of personal responsibility for executing service duties.

The party committee of the Moscow Oblispolkom GUVd, the party buro of the oblast procurator's office, the Moscow Oblast Court, and the Judiciary Department of the Moscow Oblispolkom are not showing sufficient initiative in their work, are tolerating shortcomings, and are doing a poor job of holding communists responsible for violations of the law which they commit.

At the session, city and rayon committees claimed justly that they lack the necessary control over selection, assignment and training of law enforcement personnel and that they are unable to get from the primary party organizations a principled approach toward those who violate the law or strict observance of the CPSU regulation on the two-fold responsibilities of party members.

The CPSU Moscow Committee Buro adopted a resolution harshly pointing out to managers of the law enforcement agencies the cases of violations of socialist law and unjustified criminal proceedings against citizens which were permitted. The buro took into consideration the manager's statements that they would take exhaustive measures to correct the noted violations and to guarantee the rights and interests of citizens.

The party obkom buro demanded an increase in the role of the elective party organs in perfecting the work of the party apparatus and in strengthening party and civil service discipline. The party obkom buro committed the CPSU gorkom and raykom to ensure an increase in the level of control over law enforcement agencies by party organizations and to achieve permanent control over their activities. Gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations have been instructed to review the question of the accountability of communists who permit cases of illegal criminal proceedings against citizens.

**Crime, 'Anti-Sovietism' On Rise In Lithuania**  
18000174 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
15 Oct 88 p 4

[Larisa Koritskaya interviews A. Vilkas, chief of the Lithuanian SSR MVD's Main Administration for Preserving Public Order, "Trust, But Verify"; under the rubric "According to Rumors, According to the Authorities"]

[Text] Lately, telephones in the editorial staff offices of SOVETSKAYA LITVA, figuratively speaking, have been heating up from the emotional calls. Questions follow one after the other, each more disturbing than the previous one: "Why don't you write about the fact that one can end up in a fight on a trolley or bus just because of his nationality?" "Why don't you warn people that it is better not to walk the streets in the evening?" and so on, and so forth.

A correspondent from SOVETSKAYA LITVA met with A. Vilkas, chief of the Main Administration for Preserving Public Order of the Lithuanian SSR MVD, and asked him to answer our reader's questions.

[Koritskaya] Can you describe briefly the current situation in the Republic?

[Vilkas] For the past few years, on the streets and in public places, various types of crime have been on the rise. The number of violations of the law has increased particularly this year. We have reviewed the state of affairs in the three largest cities: Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaypeda. These, I would say, are our hot spots.

[Koritskaya] Have there been cases of violations of the law based on nationality?

[Vilkas] I will answer that immediately - No. I can say categorically that no citizen has made a call like that to the internal affairs agencies. We have no insurance against rumors, however, even the most unbelievable ones. Consider just the events of 28 September of this year, for example. One would think that the republic press and television would have talked in detail about the actions of militia workers during unsanctioned meetings, but alas, up to now, the people are being presented with distorted facts.

There is no doubt that rumors and distortions of reality create an unhealthy atmosphere in the collectives and morally wound each individual. All this in no way promotes perestroika.

[Koritskaya] With what do you think the worsening of public order in the republic is connected and what crimes are the most characteristic?

[Vilkas] I think first of all with the fact that our forces, more than just occasionally, are diverted from directly fighting crime. After all, we must ensure public order



during sanctioned and unsanctioned meetings and processions. Criminals take advantage of this situation. The scoundrels, hooligans, thieves and bandits themselves have told us about doing this.

Now, about the nature of the crimes. Since 28 September, we have registered six murders in the summary of operations for the republic. The press and television have reported on them so these crimes are known. You recall that several private taxi drivers became victims of repeat offenders. I would like to urge drivers once again to be vigilant and to report suspicious passengers to the militia. More than ten people received bodily injuries because of drunkenness, and there were 12 rapes. Ten cases of misappropriation of state or public property and 80 cases of theft of private property were reported. I particularly want to call your attention to the more frequent street robberies: there were more than 30 of them. In only ten days, more than 50 automobiles were stolen.

I would like to emphasize that, because of the current worsening situation, we especially need the help of the public now.

[Koritskaya] I cannot but touch upon a question which we are asked almost every day, not only by our readers but by people arriving in the republic as guests and tourists. They are filled with indignation at the sight of one of the most beautiful spots in Vilnius—Gediminas Square. There are grimey leaflets on the walls of the cathedral, stalls with brief, printed texts and offensive anti-Soviet slogans, and even appeals for terrorist actions...

[Vilkas] This is true. The placards insult Soviet authority and individual republic leaders. This is hardly openness and pluralism of opinion but rather a mockery of democracy. To say the least, on every corner the eye finds examples of lack of culture. Essentially, there are some direct examples of administrative violations of the laws of the Lithuanian SSR. It is also unsanitary there and there are buildings with belching smokestacks. It is not clear why the Lenin Rayispolkom or the housing authority, in whose jurisdiction such disorder reigns, have not reacted to this. They have every right.

In conclusion, I would also like to call something to the attention of the press. We must be prepared to warn about any type of provocation or excess. We cannot contend today that the perestroika which is unfolding in our republic is to everyone's taste or that wolves in sheep's clothing, capable of sewing discord and kindling rumors, will not try to hide behind it. We must be more careful in how we deal with the facts and not chase after the sensational, as has happened more than once, and not distort information. Internal affairs agencies are always ready to help reporters get reliable information. Cooperation will only benefit the public.

### Problems of Correctional Labor Institutions Examined

18000282 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
1 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with A. Onisimov, LiSSR deputy minister of internal affairs, by Yu. Stroganov: "The Gordian Knot of the Correctional Labor Institutions"]

[Text] A well-known commodity is leaving the gates of this enterprise—furniture that is familiar throughout the republic. It is a product of electrical engineering, much of which is exported to other countries. It would be fine at this point to make mention of glorious labor traditions, of "shock" work that serves as a moral exemplar for the molding of Soviet youth.

Except for the fact that another sort of worker meets the eye—with an arrogant gaze and a crooked smile. There is a swaying gray group of hunched figures, uniform in appearance: It is a shock brigade as it trots to work with quick glances in our direction, greetings of hoarse laughter—a peremptory shout. A shock brigade of convicts.

This a corrective labor institution—or colony. It is a peculiar institution, the regime of which depends on the gravity of one's crime—general, reinforced, or strict—as required for the purpose of the correction and re-education of the person who has taken a false step.

"Does life in a corrective labor institution really help in bringing about correction and re-education?" With a note of doubt in my voice, I put the question to A. Onisimov, LiSSR deputy minister of internal affairs.

Alexander Yefimovich took over this difficult assignment only a year and a half ago. He is still relatively young. Yet in matters with which he is forced to contend in his professional duties he is no novice. On his shoulders is the work of criminal investigation, including looking into matters pertaining to murders, armed robbery, and cases of bribery, as well as work with the Lithuanian CP Central Committee staff. Our conversation dealt with problems of correctional labor institutions, which, like so much else in our country today, have become entangled in a difficult knot.

[Onisimov] Punishment is punishment, and the convict should feel it as such as he expiates his guilt. The matter of education, however, is more complicated. Labor should serve as a means, rather than an end in itself. At present, interests in work productivity are [not] the dominant ones.

[Stroganov] To be honest, I have a lot of doubts. Is it possible, in general, to re-educate a person whose character has been formed as an adult? And, what is more, a criminal?

[Onisimov] You are not allowing for the fact that there is a difference between one crime and another. A man may stumble accidentally. He should be punished in accordance with his action. However, he has a life ahead of him, and he has an opportunity to live it with a clear conscience. No one can take this right even from a hardened criminal.

[Stroganov] Still, is the atmosphere in the corrective labor institution really conducive to education? Although the answer may be yes, in my view, it is conducive only in the negative sense. Take a person far removed from the criminal world, who happens to be here by a whim of fate: Will he not be influenced strongly by the criminals?

[Onisimov] Unfortunately, it must be said that they, the criminals, are most often the ones who become the leaders. Such is the nature of the world they live in. Although there are rare instances of persons who become leaders genuinely striving for rehabilitation by helping others. For such people to make their appearance there must be painstaking individual effort. This is extremely difficult, as is the work that goes on in the corrective labor institution generally. I believe that the people who represent us are heroic. Although the profession itself may not be very romantic, it demands the giving of one's self completely in devotion to one's duty.

[Stroganov] On the whole, I entirely agree with you. Yet we often hear about violations of law among corrective labor institution officers. If these rumors reflect the truth, how can there be talk of rehabilitating criminals?

[Onisimov] Such talk continues to go on. I am persuaded that our work should be subjected to the scrutiny of glasnost. Yet I am also convinced that we cannot draw global generalizations from single cases. And, of course, journalists, in an effort to treat the subject with sensationalism, often lead readers to believe that virtually every corrective labor institution worker is in league with the criminal element. But that just is not so! The overwhelming majority are honest workers. Moreover, we give every violation that occurs not only a proper appraisal in terms of the law but by our own moral standards. We regard such actions as treachery with all its inevitable consequences.

[Stroganov] Nevertheless, with regard to education, you yourself say that the cases when a normal person becomes a leader are rare. Does this mean that the return for the efforts of your workers is low?

[Onisimov] The question depends on a number of variables. I am not going to repeat myself in speaking about conditions peculiar to the criminal world, and about existing interests in performing work of a productive nature. Let us consider a single fact. Right now there are a total of two or three officers for a detachment of 120-150 convicts. So much for talking about intensive education. When the teacher has a class of 40 persons,

there is a question whether individual guidance is possible. And, of course, there on the outside pupils are children, innocent souls—here, they are criminals. I think that for normal, individual work with convicts there must be half as many, or a third as many, convicts per officer. Only then can we set ourselves the task not simply of neutralizing negative tendencies but of actually re-educating people.

[Stroganov] And does it not happen that having such a small number of officers simply drives all these anti-social tendencies inward but essentially does not change them? Continuous, sustained supervision and monitoring—this is what puts pressure on a person. Does not punishment simply reinforce these tendencies? As you know, the usual number of officers resulted in exhausting the patience of the inmates at Pravenishkes.

[Onisimov] On this point, you are wrong. It was just because of the weakness of the custodial regime and low degree of demandingness, as our commission established, that these things happened. In addition, the corrective labor institution workers overlooked a conflict arising between some of the convicts over "turf." They had some sort of differences, and the atmosphere in the institution came to a crisis. And at this point the journal OGONYEK came out with an inflammatory article, which made a vivid impression, entitled "Unlimited License" (bespredel), concerning an uprising in one of the penal zones as a result of crowded conditions, and they began to riot. I made a visit to the place. There was noise. Rocks were thrown, and fires were lit on the premises. "What's the matter?" I asked. "What are you demanding?" "Unlimited license: Somebody in charge!" they cried. We began to analyze the situation. And what anarchy there was there. Poor supervision, and a low level of discipline. We restored order, assisted in organizing work, corrected a number of the workers, and fired others.

[Stroganov] I have the feeling, nevertheless, that simply increasing the size of the work staff is not going to solve the problem of re-educating convicts. That is the extensive, quantitative approach. What is needed, apparently, is a fundamental restructuring and reform, including methods of teaching.

[Onisimov] That is entirely true. And this reform is already under way. Its most characteristic aspect lies in the fact that the prisoner is recognized as a Soviet citizen. Although he violated the law, our treatment of him must be humane. A remarkable improvement in the living conditions of the colony may be seen. Of course, we are not going to turn it into a health resort—punishment is punishment. We are getting rid of all kinds of obsolete forms; for example, extra restrictions. We are reviewing certain of the rules. Formerly, less food was provided in solitary confinement. There was even a rule that a person could not have more than five books. It has now been abolished. Mobile libraries as well as television sets are now to be found in the zones. It is my

personal opinion nevertheless that there are rather few people directly engaged in dealing with the prisoners. The problem must be addressed in its totality.

[Stroganov] Let us talk a little about the educational role of labor. From what you say, it has been reduced to zero in the corrective labor institution system?

[Onisimov] We may speak only of a reduced role of this aspect. We have our outstanding workers and our honor rolls. We have social organizations, and a collective soviet of prisoners, for example. Those who perform outstandingly often win an early reprieve. This matter is decided by the commission and the People's Court. There are material incentives for good work. We have, for example, in the republic one of the highest wages for prisoners in the corrective labor institution system throughout the country. There are those who receive ten rubles a day and more before deductions for maintenance. Even the cost-accounting system, which we are switching to next year, will have its educational aspect perhaps. But here the business must be carried out to the end: cost accounting in our system must have an effect not only on the wages of the officers but on the prisoners themselves. It must be arranged so that our cost-accounting is not tampered with by state orders. Production problems, as you can see, are externally the same here among us as they are in the country's conventional enterprises. But there are distinguishing features. Once again I want to say that interests in productive work need not predominate, although they are important. Take, for example, the problem of personnel. At the usual plant, for example, the outflow of workers is a source of dismay to those in charge; here, it delights them. It must be said that we experienced right away the direct relation that exists between the restructuring going on in our country and a shortage of workers in the corrective labor institution system. There has been a reduction in the number of violations, particularly in connection with the accelerated campaign against drunkenness. Such a measure as imprisonment is resorted to more rarely. And this is fine.

[Stroganov] It would seem that the Gordian Knot of problems that exist in the system is not to be cut at one blow, in the heat of the moment—otherwise, new problems will multiply. Only by a process of painstaking effort each day can such problems be disentangled.

[Onisimov] With this objective in mind, we are carrying out restructuring in our work. It is not easy to do. But in life there are no easy solutions. Especially, in such a field as ours.

#### **GSSR MVD Official Details Service's Problems, Weaknesses**

18300165 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
12 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by Givi Kvarelashvili, director of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Administration for Nondepartmental Security, under the rubric "Law-Enforcement Agencies: Improve Work Style": "Protect the People's Property"]

[Text] The success of restructuring depends to a considerable extent on the effectiveness of the fight against theft and mismanagement. The most diverse organiza-

tions and services are taking part in this work today. They include the nondepartmental security service, one of internal affairs' largest subdivisions.

Starting in 1987, a new approach was taken to the service for the protection of state and personal property, and the USSR Council of Ministers ordered the ministries and departments to take steps to improve the dependability of the protection of economic facilities against theft and fire, to implement additional measures for equipping them with technical devices, and—what is especially important—to complete before the end of 1988 the transfer of all enterprises, institutions and organizations located in cities, rayon centers and city-type settlements to the country's Ministry of Internal Affairs to be placed under the nondepartmental security service. As a result, an end will finally be put to departmental fragmentation in the protection of state and public property. Thus, the nondepartmental security service is becoming the principal guard of our public property.

Right now about 14,000 facilities, including 2,000 enterprises, large depots and warehouses and savings banks, and 1,500 premises housing precious metals, weapons and preparations containing narcotics, are under protection by the nondepartmental security service. There is no secret about the fact that all these especially important facilities are backed up by additional security devices. More than 70 percent of the republic's industrial enterprises, institutions and organizations, including practically all the trade, public-catering and consumer-service enterprises, are under the protection of the nondepartmental security service. We permanently guard about 10,000 apartments and place more than 2,000 a year under short-term guard for the duration of people's vacations, business trips and stays at dachas.

The use of intercom-lock devices called house phones to limit the access of outsiders to the entryways of residential buildings has been producing good results. In Tbilisi, where they are widely used, apartment thefts have been reduced. Moreover, they have made it possible to significantly improve the sanitary condition of entryways and save fuel and electricity. Nonetheless, the introduction of these devices is still not proceeding satisfactorily. Most of the standard plans for residential buildings fail to provide for the installation of house phones. The equipment is being produced in insufficient quantities, and the problems of its delivery, installation and maintenance have not been fully solved. In this connection, it would be useful, in our view, to transfer the functions of ispolkoms' municipal services with regard to the introduction of house phones, including their installation and maintenance, to the administration of the Georgian SSR MVD's Administration for Nondepartmental Security, on the condition that all the physical facilities and equipment that are presently under the elevator service also be transferred to it. The specific nature of this work is such that it should be under the control of precisely our department, which makes extensive use of apparatus and instruments to protect material valuables. In the



process, the questions should also be resolved of placing orders for the development and production of experimental models of house phones at the appropriate enterprises, and of centrally allocating metal, lumber and cable on the basis of the statements of requirement and specifications of the Administration for Nondepartmental Security.

It should be admitted self-critically that, unfortunately, the measures taken by the nondepartmental security service are not always effective. However infrequently, it does happen that alarms fail to work. Criminals dismantle walls, break through floors and ceilings, and use ventilation and other utility ducts. However, statistics indicate that, despite fluctuations in the pattern, over the past few years there has nonetheless been a steady trend toward a reduction in the number of thefts in the facilities under our protection. Criminals, taught by bitter experience, know about our technical devices, including instruments and alarms operating on the basis of diverse physical principles. In the past three years, for example, as a result of the operation of alarms and the precise actions of nondepartmental-security militia details, 250 thefts have been interrupted, and 340 criminals have been arrested in the process.

If one looks at our service's problems in perspective, everything indicates that in 10 to 15 years security will be mainly an engineering and technological service. In the next few years practically all facilities will be protected using an inexpensive and effective system that employs centralized observation equipment. This is a very important process, the development of which promises to ultimately eliminate the relatively ineffective use of watchmen. A dual effect is anticipated from this: in the first place, a substantial reduction in expenditures for the maintenance of guards, and in the second place, the reassignment of able-bodied guards to the production branches of the economy, which have been experiencing a chronic manpower shortage.

But this is a matter for the future. For the time being, watchmen continue to be principal. This is the category of personnel who have been assigned one of the most important preventive tasks of the nondepartmental security service—combating petty thefts. It is no secret that the state sustains extensive losses from such thefts. Suffice it to say that in 1988 about 8,000 petty thieves, from whom tens of thousands of rubles' worth of material valuables were confiscated, were uncovered at facilities under the protection of the nondepartmental security service alone. Especially many cases of theft occur in the agroindustrial complex. In nine months the number of petty thefts in this branch was five percent higher than for the comparable period of last year. The Ministry of Light Industry is second in the number of violations, followed by the Ministry of Grain Products. In short, the number of thefts at the republic's enterprises remains high.

In naming the main reasons for this evil, one must first cite mismanagement and irresponsibility on the part of the management of a number of enterprises, which fails to pay attention to the poor equipping of facilities with protective devices and the absence at many of them of dependable procedures for monitoring entry. Take, for example, the republic's State Agroindustrial Committee. At many of that department's facilities, valuable materials and products are stored in unsuitable and shabby buildings, or simply in the open air. Proper attention is not given to maintaining the grounds of enterprises and their fences, entrance gates and guard stations in proper condition. This sort of situation is in many respects typical for farm machinery facilities in Oni and Lanchkhuti, tea factories in Gali and Tskhakaya, juice-processing enterprises in Keda and Kareli, poultry complexes in Akhalkalaki and Samtredia, canneries in Bolnisi, Dmanisi and Mtskheta, and many others.

An equally alarming situation has been developing at the Ministry of Trade's facilities. For example, in the city of Zugdidi the warehouse of the gorispolkom's trade administration is in a building that fails to meet even elementary requirements from the standpoint of alarm systems and fire security. It has no fire alarms; there are no bars on the doors and windows, some of which even lack glass; and there is no lighting on the grounds adjoining the warehouse. A similar situation exists at many of Tsekavshiri's [expansion unknown] facilities. For example, at the Batumi Small-Scale Wholesale Building Materials Depot, the fence around the perimeter is completely broken down in places, the storage buildings are decrepit, items of material value are stored in the open air, there are no mechanized gates, and the lighting of the territory is unsatisfactory. In short, there is a set of conditions that make the facility vulnerable to robbery and theft.

Serious shortcomings in ensuring the safekeeping of items of material value are evident in practically every region of the republic. In the Abkhaz ASSR the number of facilities lacking alarm systems comes to 1,500, including 350 under the Ministry of Trade, 210 under Tsekavshiri, and 85 under the State Agroindustrial Committee. In the Adzhar ASSR the number of facilities that need alarm systems comes to 700, including 94 belonging to Tsekavshiri, 98 belonging to the State Agroindustrial Committee, and 75 belonging to the Ministry of Trade.

There are also other unfavorable factors that reduce the reliability of the protection of socialist property and the fight against petty theft. No matter how technically up-to-date the protection of facilities may be, success depends in the final analysis on people—watchmen, monitors and enterprise collectives, and on their attitude toward any given negative fact. Yet at many enterprises the campaign against petty theft is hardly being waged at all. Moreover, in some places when a violator is exposed the collective rushes to his defense—the collective that one would think should be helping us expose the thief. It

is no accident that in 1988 such a liberal punitive measure as a warning or public censure was applied to nearly half of the arrested petty thieves when their conduct was examined in collectives. It was evidently taken into account that the amount stolen was supposedly small. However, in the aggregate—on the scale of an enterprise, a branch of the economy or the republic as a whole—the total material damage from petty thefts is expressed in hundreds of thousands of rubles.

Here is just one fact. On 18 March 1988 in the city of Tskhivali, officers of the Administration for Nondepartmental Security arrested V. Tibilov, a worker on a state farm in the village of Kurt, who had carried 20 kg of meat worth 40 rubles from the grounds of the local meatpacking combine; N. Panteleyev, an engineer with the oblast veterinary laboratory, who had illegally acquired 3.5 kg of cheese, 3 kg of cottage cheese, 2 liters of sour cream and 2 liters of milk at a dairy combine; and V. Gubeladze, a shop chief at a local garment factory, who had stolen 30 rubles' worth of garments. Given petty thefts of such a scale recorded in just one city and just one day, it is not difficult to calculate the tremendous total damage caused by them.

Another factor causing the widespread nature of thefts is mismanagement on the part of enterprise executives, shortcomings in the inventorying of raw materials and output, and the unsupervised writing off of them as supposedly technological and other losses. It is interesting that at the same time many enterprises annually report the overfulfillment of production plans and the saving of raw materials and even receive bonuses for husbanding resources. It is clear that losses from thefts are "compensated" for through flagrant violations of production technology, the omission of some components and, in the final analysis, the lowering of product quality.

Petty thefts are also dangerous because they inevitably grow into more serious lawbreaking and create a nutritive environment for it. This year alone officers of the nondepartmental security service have identified 60 thefts belonging to the category of major thefts. In Saburtalinskiy Rayon in Tbilisi, officers of the nondepartmental security service arrested D. Kebabze, manager of a warehouse of the Tbilisi Knitwear Association, and G. Surashvili, a driver in Motor Pool No. 2692, who had stolen 150 kg of knitted fabric worth more than 4,000 rubles from the association's grounds.

Lack of principle, negligence, lax supervision, slipshodness, cupidity and money-grubbing on the part of some officers of the nondepartmental security service, who in a number of cases have themselves turned out to be involved in thefts of items of material value that they were assigned to guard, cost the state a great deal. On the night of 25-26 October 1987, the theft of nearly 6,000 kg of imported tea worth more than 20,000 rubles was carried out at the Samtredia Tea Packaging Factory. An

investigation established that one of the main participants in the crime was I. Zamtaradze, chief of security for the facility. A disturbing incident took place at the Tbilisi Industrial Rubber Products Plant, where the theft of 5,000 rubles' worth of scarce products for Zhiguli cars was carried out with the participation of the controller A. Bibileyshvili. As the investigation established, Bibileyshvili, entering into a conspiracy with the criminals, deliberately understated figures in accompanying documents on amounts of products shipped from the enterprise. Such employees, unfortunately, in many respects distort the image of the service and undermine its prestige. Through their fault, the nondepartmental security service sometimes appears in the eyes of public opinion as a "watchman"—a "watchman," i.e., in quotes, although in recent years it has turned into a developed service that synthesizes elements of the work of the apparatuses involved in combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation, maintaining the public order, fire fighting, and even criminal investigation.

The security service's many thousand employees include numerous honest and conscientious individuals. However, people notice that certain security chiefs, controllers and even watchmen, while having modest earnings, live in a fashion that is clearly beyond their means. Public opinion has started to keep track in a more interested, biased and critical fashion of how they dress, what sort of cars they acquire, and how they live in general. We are carrying out necessary measures to purge the security personnel. This year alone 80 security chiefs and about 300 controllers, brigade leaders and watchmen have been dismissed, reduced in rank, or transferred to nonindustrial facilities in connection with a loss of trust in them and shortcomings in their work to protect socialist property. However, administrative measures alone will not help here. Evidently, solution of the problem must be sought in the social sphere, as well. I have in mind the fact that watchmen and controllers remain one of the lowest-paid categories of employees. It should also be taken into consideration that the work of watchmen is not easy and is sometimes associated with risk to life and health, which is confirmed by cases of the murder of watchmen that took place last year in Bolnisi and Tbilisi's Rayon imini the 26 Commissars. Watchmen V. Moseshvili and G. Gurapashvili, without hesitation, entered into an unequal fight with criminals and gave their lives protecting the people's property.

Without waiting for a centralized solution of the problem of improving material conditions for security personnel through centralized procedures, it would be possible to carry out additional measures in this area through the republic ministries and departments. In particular, the experience of certain of the country's large production associations that have set up their own special incentive funds for paying bonuses, stipends and other monetary increases to security personnel is of interest. That experience, in our view, merits serious attention and widespread adoption.

In order to step up the campaign against petty thefts, especially in the branches that produce consumer goods, the time has come to adopt a number of additional organizational and economic measures. In particular, the material interest of workers and office employees should be enhanced by organizing the sale of produced products at prices below established state retail prices at enterprises in light industry, the food industry and other industries. Experience with this exists in a number of socialist countries. The further spread of petty thefts can also be neutralized by such a measure as expansion of the practice of organizing departmental-trade order desks and subsidized food services for workers and office employees at enterprises in the processing branches.

We believe that these and other proposals can constitute a serious basis for further deepening the campaign against petty and grand theft and other sources of nonlabor income. They must be examined in a detailed and interested fashion in the appropriate republic ministries and departments in order to work out coordinated, unified actions.

#### **Proposals for Reducing Teenage Crime, Antisocial Behavior**

18300062 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by A. Dorofeyev, teacher from Kazan, under the rubric: "Teenage Situation": "We Continue To Pay Off"]

[Text] Radio, TV, and our Kazan press are presently dedicated to the theme of organized teenage crime in the city. Rumors are being interwoven with the real bitter facts. Film and photocameras bring us into the still yesterday forbidden camp zone and leave us eye-to-eye with underaged perpetrators and criminals, with their fury, anger, and victims. Parents and teachers are concerned. Party, Komsomol, and law authorities are puzzled over the causes and search for a panacea for the disease which has become acute.

Naturally, as a citizen, father of two children, and a teacher, I am also extremely alarmed. However, the changes in our society which are gaining strength allow us to hope that we will take control over the complex situation with teenagers. Society analyzes mistakes being made and more and more realizes that to cut expenses for children, whether they represent money, personal time, or attention, is like a builder scrimping on a foundation. Such a strategy inevitably leads to bitter losses.

Today we are removing and have already removed certain economic restrictions but we are still continuing to "pay off" the children. That is how I would call certain of our actions. This pertains both to the parents of each separate family and to the whole adult part of the society. We do not want to admit it, but that is exactly what is happening in life. Giving ourselves up to our own

interests, problems, and work, we are very little involved with the world of our own sons and daughters and, at the same time, we are trying to compensate this lack of attention with fashionable clothes, tape recorders, and motorcycles.

You would agree that an aspect of making advances is present in the fact that we started so frantically and hurriedly to agree with the views of young people on rock music, fashionable clothes, and multicolored hairdos. We need something completely different. And what is it that we need? We hear from all directions that we spoiled them, allowed them to get out of hand, and we must stop doing it. To stop doing it? Do not we see that in response to blind laws and limitations the actions of the underaged become more refined. For example, emergence of drug addicts in those families, where parents very tightly protect their children from the bad influence of the street.

Life itself and processes taking place in it are taking us to a new road and illuminate the reference points that will serve as a basis for society to build a program for education and upbringing. I want to make proposals reflecting my thoughts and those of many parents of my students.

I am sure that by using joint efforts we must take a persistent course toward reducing working hours of mothers with compensating their salaries. I think that this compensation should be tied with children's diligence in school and work for the benefits of the public. A shortened work day is already available now based on an agreement with management. The remaining thing left for us all is to realize is that it is more profitable than to repair later after 5-10 years our own "human reject".

Now let us discuss issues directly connected with the school. We must reduce the number of students in a class to reasonable, scientifically justified limits. Schools located in new developments in Kazan are overcrowded from one-and-a-half- to two-fold, having 7-8 parallel classes in giant schools. A teacher cannot transfer knowledge, culture, and spirituality to 40 students one hour, and to other 40 students the next hour for 5-6 hours daily, and, at the same time, reach each student. It is specified to have up to 30 teenagers per class, but in many schools, and not only in Kazan, these norms are substantially exceeded. Under these circumstances, a teacher's main concern is discipline rather than the individual abilities and personal qualities of a child. Simple arithmetic. During 6 hours 150-200 students pass through the class room but not through the teacher's heart. Can he remember their names?...

The secretary of gorispolkom, deputy of the Privolzhskiy rayon, L. Kosmylina, answering a question from parents concerning building a desperately needed school in the 11th microrayon, said: "You know yourself how difficult it is to find money in the family budget for two overcoats



at once, even if those are children's overcoats." The city authorities were complaining of the lack of funds. But is not this shortage due to the way money and efforts were unwisely spent?

I have to repeat it again: saving on children's education is a very unprofitable thing. However, in our republic we have more than enough examples of such unwise savings. There are so many stadiums, hockey fields, and swimming pools which do not function and have been in disrepair for a long time. They are considered to be establishments of social and cultural life. According to official reports, all of them are "points of youth involvement". Only nobody is using them and nobody is excited about them. A shooting range in the 10th microrayon has not operated for 7 years in the row, in spite of the fact that it is badly needed there. The teenagers are training themselves. It had very sad consequences. According to a report in VECHERNYAYA KAZAN, teenagers using a homemade gun fatally wounded a child of their own age in a basement of a building located in Gorky.

Winter is getting closer and, as usual, representative commissions will start driving all over the city inspecting the ice hockey rinks. In November-December different organizations will be forced to build these rinks. They will do it somehow, using thrown out materials and poorly making some ice, for a formal response. However, an ice hockey rink is not only an ice rink. It should have good lighting, a locker room, a place to sharpen skates, a doughnut shop, and sauna (and why not?). I have been living in Gorky for 6 years and am amazed at how quickly the State and cooperative garages and parking lots are being organized. And not a single skating-rink for public use with music, locker room, and skate rentals exists.

The best grounds between the 9th, 10th, and 11th microrayons near the youth cafe were used for a parking lot. Before the parking lot was built, various useful entertaining measures, namely, cart races, car driving competitions, model plane competitions, bicycle races and rallies for all ages, and skateboarding were taking place there. We should put a Christmas tree and build

snow castles there. No, it is too much hassle in it. Besides, it is the opinion of certain local authorities that where music, entertainment, and crowds are, there are fights. So, again additional problems.

Many parents ask me to help find a job for a boy, or a girl. But I do not know a case when children would work as janitors or grounds keepers in their own school. And this in spite of the fact that these jobs represent a substantial part of the giant schools' payroll. Very seldom and indecisively we are using teenagers to make our city clean. Our city needs planting of greenery and improving its squares and parks. The streets are being cleaned, usually on Wednesdays, by office and scientific workers. A special day, Wednesday, is even assigned for this purpose. However, this work could be done by teenagers. Unfortunately, the issue of jobs for teenagers is complex and confused. Why would not we contract schools to carry out cleaning of the city?

In the summer, senior students go to work in agriculture in order to earn labor-days. Let us remember from our own experience that where the labor-days are, there is lack of initiative and interest in work. Many parents are afraid to let their children go to work camps. Maybe, we should try to introduce contractual relations into the labor practice of school children? Are the respective organizations ready to deal with students based on full cost accounting?

The Tatar industrial association for making light clothes cannot resolve the problem of waste. They have plenty of fabric and fur waste. All this industrial waste could be used to make children's clothes, slippers, and rollers for painting. Many enterprises could solve their production problems with the help of school cooperatives. However... For the time being, nobody has ever heard about the school cooperatives in Kazan. They say that there are objective reasons for that. Who is saying this? We, ourselves.

Yes, we, the adults are now taking a difficult exam in front of our and somebody else's children. Earlier, they handed in their exams and tests to us, now it is time for us not to fail.

**Estonian Labor Collectives Council Describes Goals**

18000354 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
29 Nov 88 p 3

[Report by V. Yarovoy (Dvigatel), V. Aleksandrov (Volta), A. Revkuts (Estonfosforit), T. Beksazarov (Pykhyale) and V. Libman (Non-Metallic Metals Plant): "A Council of Directors With a Major Plan"]

[Text]

**Who Are We?**

We are the United Council of Production Collectives [OSPK]. Yes, that's right! That one. You can supply your own epithets, depending upon which wing of the burgeoning social life of our republic you attach yourself to. Don't be bashful in your statements. You are not the first, and you won't be the last. Is there anything that we haven't heard and read about ourselves, by name and by list, in the last few months? No problem. We can take it. We're a tough people. And we can even agree—under one condition, that after this you will read through to the end, what we want to say today, so that finally we can be heard out. Because one of the very greatest complications in our far-from-simple lives today is the fact that, sad to say, we have already learned to speak—that is, to be more precise, we are learning. But you see as far as listening is concerned—not yet. Not at all. Our dialogs are like a conversation between one who is deaf and another who is dumb. And every one of us becomes convinced of this every day, many times a day.

But how important, how vitally important it is for us to be understood. For everyone, of course; not just the OSPK.

Today the United Council comprises 44 enterprises in Tallinn, among which there are, contrary to divergent opinions, enterprises of republic subordination; and there are 58 enterprises in other cities of our republic: in Narva, Kohtla-Järve, Sillamäe and so on. According to somewhat rough calculations, there are more than 100,000 people behind it.

"But maybe there aren't!" you exclaim. Maybe it's just the directors, who are following the good old tradition of getting together around the table in their comfortable, soft easy chairs; who thought all this up and kept it a secret from their working collectives?!

In order to answer this completely legitimate question, we shall describe the procedure for acceptance in the OSPK, which is observed undeviatingly, since it is a matter of principle. The question of joining itself is discussed in detail in every collective at an expanded session of the working collective's soviet. And only if the soviet, by majority vote, decides to join the OSPK does it pass its mandate to its representative, at the same time

agreeing on its platform. And not all directors have received this mandate right away, after the initial discussion. Sometimes one has to clarify one's position.

The newspapers SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and RAKhVA KhYaEL have already described when and how OSPK sprang up, but we'll tell it again in brief.

Early last May the soviet of the working collective at the Dvigatel [Engine] Plant was discussing ideas of consolidating forces in the struggle for perestroika at the facilities of the republic enterprises. As you can see, we are for perestroika too, more than anyone else you see today, insofar as everyone is for it, but everyone in his own way. Perhaps this is because all of us, not having ready solutions, are trying to find our way, and time will tell who has already come closest to it today.

In June this idea was approved at a meeting of Dvigatel's working collective, and the collective appealed to the working collectives of the republic about it via the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. In July, the first meeting of representatives of the working collectives took place at the Mayak House of Culture.

In September, this idea, which was approved in principle at the Tallinn Party Gorkom Buro, was proclaimed from the rostrum of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian CP [CPE] Central Committee.

And finally, on 27 September representatives of eight enterprises, having received mandates from their working collectives, signed the agreement on establishing the OSPK. And that was our birthday.

**Where Did We Come From?**

Just like all of us—from our recent past, for whose misfortunes we are simultaneously both guilty and not guilty. But today we are to the same degree settling our accounts with all those acute problems which stand between us, which hang over us like a dead weight.

We come from the departmental diktat; at the beck of a bureaucrat's pencil, we rush raw materials and parts from one end of the country to the other...and send products back clear across the country. From the tides of the human work-flow, the masses go from place to place like a rolling stone. From obedient unanimity and convenient like-mindedness. And again, from the enterprise, without any no rights; from "Come on, come on" at any cost; from gross output; from pushers; from lack of coordination; from priority to local interests. And again, from the situation which has taken shape in the republic today.

There was also something else; and it is this very thing, that lives in us, that has helped us to take the path of perestroika today.

We come from the Law on the State Enterprise, which has blocked so many moral and economic paths.

We come from the fresh air of the 27th Congress and the 19th Party Conference; from the confident and the bold; from the non-traditional proposals.

We come from the process which is called—PERESTROYKA.

#### Where Are We Going?

We shall arrive at perestroyka by means of perestroyka. So that we can do away with everything of which we spoke above, for the good of mankind. And we shall do so with our own hands, which love to work and are capable of doing the job. The only path that we can see for ourselves is—republic-level cost accounting [khozraschet]. In order to find our place in it, in order to promote its development, we have joined together in OSPK.

"Face to face with the republic," we wrote as the title to our agreement. And for its sake, we are ready to work as well as we know how. For its sake we are open to contact and cooperation with any enterprises, institutions, organizations or popular movements, official and unofficial, regardless of the language in which they have written their declarations and projects.

The United Council believes that regional khozraschet is the organic, most realistic, and most worthwhile possibility for uniting the entire population of the republic on the path to perestroyka. The result of such an association is that everyone wins, on an equal basis.

But all this is still only words, if we do not tell what we are doing and how, in order to achieve the tasks posed for us; what are our difficulties and problems; what is planned for the future, and for the very near future. Let us now try to make this clear.

#### Where We Live

What we are talking about today is not merely taking place in our republic alone, although sometimes it seems to us that not everyone understands this. The entire system of the administrative-command economy is falling apart with a terrible noise. It is falling apart, but it does not want to give up. Enterprises throughout the country are tearing the reins from its long arms; and instead of a plan, we get Goszakaz [USSR State Procurement Administration]! The enterprises strive for independence in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise, but the system sends them covering funds! And so the intense struggle goes on: not in words, but in deeds. Who will win [Kto kogo]?

One form of an enterprise's struggle for independence from the dictatorship of any department is what one can arbitrarily and altogether too simply call association by

interests. Only it is not for the sake of leisure time, as it was formerly considered, but for the sake of the cause. A great deal has already been written about this. We would only reiterate, that ordinarily this is an association of related and neighboring enterprises of a certain branch of industry. The products are in common, the interest in their production is held in common—but the elected central organ is not there for administration and issuing orders from the top down, but for coordination and for quick solution of problems of concern to the enterprises which have banded together. Thus, this is enterprise independence for the common good, which is realized in the qualitative and timely product of their labor.

What we have done, in banding together in OSPK, is also enterprise independence within the framework of the Law on State Enterprises, and is for the good of the cause. But it's a little different. Our republic is a small one. Each enterprise is just about the only one of its kind, and even if it combines with its neighbor, it will not be a powerful base. Therefore enterprises of widely varied kinds—but associated by territory—have joined together, for the purpose of doing by joint efforts as much as possible for their rayon, city and republic. That is, in order find their places right away, today, in the framework of republic khozraschet, without waiting for instructions from above—which we already have up to our ears.

It's amusing, that some are worried that this industrial "independence" would be at odds with the needs of the republic, for what is advantageous to the enterprise of today is what is of advantage to its home and its family. And our home, our family is—Estonia! We are one with it, as the roots are to the trunk.

Many of our esteemed opponents, who are today raining their righteous anger down on us (and not without foundation) do not want to see that today we are not at all what we were two years ago. None of us is the same! Then why do they, who have been changed in the years of perestroyka, refuse to accept that we have changed?

However, let us be realists. These cardinal changes have not taken place because someone was bad and stupid and suddenly became good and wise. Life itself has changed. The Law on the State Enterprise was issued, owing to which it has become possible—legally possible—to help one another with all sorts of surpluses, without having to wait until they decay into uselessness. It turned out that at last we have the right to cooperate, interact, and combine our efforts and even our material resources—and efficiently, at our own discretion, without having to beg for months for permission from above. And there it is—the basis which permits us to combine our efforts in OSPK.

We cannot yet achieve total independence and operate totally under the Law on the State Enterprise; we are all still cells subordinate to various departments. But if, for example, the question arises on resubordination to the



republic, then it is precisely the union-level enterprises that will find the process of transition hardest of all. OSPK will render assistance here. And not sometime or other, when this question arises in earnest, but right now, today, gradually, beginning with the simplest forms.

And finally, we want to feel what we need where we live: this will provide our vast workers' collective a feeling of social stability and confidence, that everyone who lives on this earth are making one common cause. And this, as the events of recent times indicate (and not only in our republic), is a vitally important question. And it is a very important lesson for all of us.

The moreso that for a working person it is in general important to take pride in the results of one's labor, and to receive not only material blessings for it. After all, look how pleasant it is for the workers of "Marat" to see how the shoppers in the stores are delighted with their splendid articles. Of course not all our products are on the whole that visible, but we all want to find a way to be needed and useful to our fellow countrymen. And OSPK helps us here too.

#### At the Same Table

Today it is hard to imagine, but before we had banded together in the council, we—and the administrators of enterprises situated not only in the same republic but in the same city—had never sat down at the same table, except at rare general-republic events. And so it became clear who was who. Of course this was not a normal situation, although for that style of industrial management it was altogether logical. Isolated from one another by the strict departmental boundaries, we simply were unaware of the elementary capabilities of our closest neighbors. And here we are, gathering around the same table and discussing what useful things we can do together, for the city and for one another. The moreso, since we note a trend in public opinion to regard the enterprises and the production collectives guardedly and suspiciously.

Moreover, insistent voices have been raised on curtailing industry, and a reduction of 10-12,000 jobs. Then how, and with what resources are we to introduce our own economic accountability [khozraschet] in the republic; and where will the goods come from for the stores and the free market, if we do not create them with our own hands?

We have set ourselves still another task: to check how the Law on the State Enterprise operates in practice, which is today far from universal and its force is not at all felt everywhere. The first thing that we did is hold meetings at the specialist level in all sectors of possible cooperation, which was unusual for us, since we are used to looking after our own things. The chief engineers, for example, have just recently established an OSPK technical council, the principal tasks of which were to define areas for developing cooperation among enterprises in

the realm of solving problems of regional economic accountability and increasing production effectiveness; improving the quality of products, the ecological situation, and working and living conditions—that is, the tasks themselves are all practical ones. We shall realize them by means of combined efforts in the necessary directions, and by specialization and cooperation. And namely, by setting up joint sections, shops and small enterprises on a contractual basis, for protecting the environment, for utilizing or burying industrial wastes, and for producing prestigious consumer goods and rendering services to the populace. The plans for the technical council include joint technical assistance to the republic Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Commission]; reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises; production of instruments, fittings, means of mechanization and office equipment; central servicing and repair of equipment; as well as combining the engineering potential in the realm of software for ASUP [Enterprise Automated Control Systems].

In other words, a completely new and fruitful form of cooperation among enterprises is being established. And by our own efforts and means.

We are working out a plan for cooperation in the realm of semi-finished metallurgical products, various kinds of coatings, mechanical processes and electroplating. Not all of this is perhaps altogether understandable and interesting to the readers of MOLODEZHNIK; therefore we shall say very succinctly, that it precisely this area that is a point of constant shortages and continuous pressure on all enterprises.

Nevertheless, the electroplating example is a very vivid one. It exists at Prompribor [Industrial Instruments] and RET [unknown]. It is being built at Dvigatel, where this production will be put into operation at half-capacity by 1990-91. And you see, the Pegelman Plant is still trying to beg space for electroplating operation. So look: why doesn't the council of directors get together and decide that, in general, this manpower, time, money and space can be used for something else, and divide the plant's procurement orders among the three electroplating sections already at the disposal of OSPK?

One bottleneck for the city today is supplying building materials to those enterprises which are building at their own expense. The Stroykeramika [Ceramic Building Materials] Plant itself has appealed to Dvigatel to make them 16 metal girders for their shop. And Dvigatel is ready to carry out the order on a contractual basis, in exchange for bricks and tiles, for the enterprises being built by OSPK. And that is how it is of use.

Still another tight spot is—the ecology. We too are, of course, concerned about it. Therefore we have written into our contract that one of the directions of our activity is—the struggle to clean up the environment; and we are beginning production of filters for purification facilities at the municipal water works. There is a problem in that

70 tons of stainless steel is needed for them, which we do not have in the republic. And the director of Dvigatel himself went to Moscow to try and "beat" some steel out of them.

And, of course, consumer goods. Having assessed our strength and our capabilities we have come to understand that together we can do a great deal that we would not be able to do separately. And that is exactly what, at a recently-held meeting of the party management aktiv, we appealed to the ESSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan with a request to give us lists of the most-needed consumer goods, and equipment for the enterprises of the republic ministry of light industry and the state agro-industrial commission. We would like to examine these lists at the council, and begin to produce whatever we have the capability to produce now. As far as Gosagroprom is concerned, we can render much more effective assistance to it than we could by using skilled specialists in harvesting potatoes. Once again combining our efforts, we could take a model of an already-developed agricultural machine or some other kind of equipment, and divide its production up among ourselves: the Pegelman Plant could handle the electrical portion; Volta could make the electric drive; and Dvigatel, the mechanical portion. And the rest could be handled by anyone who can. And so on, for the entire series. We believe that this would not be a bad contribution to the solution of matters in the republic.

Our plan even includes construction of a general store, where they would sell consumer goods which we produce and will continue to produce, as well as industrial waste material and factory seconds. For the time being we have decided to start this up on the facilities of a small store which already exists at the RET Association, so that it is not put off for a long time. But here's a sad thing: on the night of 11-12 November the store was barbarically plundered and the only thing that was left intact was 16 rubles lying in the cash drawer. Apparently the plunderers were gripped by noble feelings, and not entirely by profit. But nevertheless there will be a store. And it must at all costs become a showcase of what we can produce for the people of the republic.

#### With Our Own Hands

At the aforementioned party management meeting we also presented an appeal to the gorispolkom, to prepare suggestions in the realm of the city's social development, so that OSPK could work out its own program for taking part in it. We entered this question into our contract, as one of the most important; inasmuch we believe that there is an enormous amount of work to be done here, and it is precisely in this work that we find another splendid opportunity to bring together all the citizens of the republic, showing true concern for them. Thus far we have planned the construction of a swimming pool in Tallinn, for which the city has long dreamed. The Dvigatel plant will be building it and the remaining plants will render effective help to it. The building materials and the design

are up to the city. And not because OSPK has found a surplus of construction workers and means, which unfortunately no one has and no one knows when they will. But this is real; it is not merely words, but deeds—the desire of OSPK to turn to the needs of its own city and take a part of its problems upon itself. For now, these; and later on, others. The main thing that we must all acknowledge today is, that one cannot live on the earth and not think about its flourishing; one cannot live among the people and not feel their pain, and not be concerned about their concerns.

Naturally the OSPK program also includes the development of the social sphere of the enterprises themselves—the members of the Council. Here too, mutual assistance, coordination of efforts and means, and cooperation are as welcome as can be. But you see, this too is not only for ourselves, but for the city; the very city where our workers live, just as all its citizens, who suffer because of the lack of development of its social sphere. Because of the overcrowded schools and polyclinics and the lines at stores and kindergartens; because of the lack of sports fields, and those very swimming lanes; because of the depressing housing tracts, in whose courtyards crowds of children hang about aimlessly. And in general, to divide the population up into ours and theirs—that is an ignoble thing to do and simply holds no promise. Whether you divide them or not, they are still ours.

Cadre policy is still another important area of our cooperation in OSPK. Today the economic mechanism itself is beginning to hinder migration. And we too have an interest in this, since the cadres who are imported demand housing right away, at the expense of people who have already been working for a long time, and they demand a lot of other things, to include adaptation to our conditions. In other words, local cadres are more advantageous to us. In this connection we are drawing up a general plan of measures which includes becoming the mentors for kindergartens, elementary schools and vocational-technical schools, right down to providing scholarships at any institute we require.

However, the cadre program has another very important aspect, and that concerns finding jobs for people. At the present time, as enterprises are changing over to new working conditions, as the character of ecologically-harmful plants and sectors is being re-shaped—our task is to find jobs for those people, to re-train and re-qualify them, without moral and material losses.

Of course, a great many plans have been outlined. The very idea which permits us to sit at the same table and not compete, but cooperate; to think up and carry out something new for everyone; something new and unexpected—this idea itself is inspiring; no doubt about it.

Quite recently we and our Komsomol members conceived the idea of a youth program. This is no doubt especially near and dear to MOLODEZHIK. We are

bringing together our best traditions, measures, means and facilities for young people, and many excellent ideas. By the way, it is also easier to try to solve jointly the social problems of our young people: studying, leisure time, concerns for young families; and much, much more, which we perhaps do not now anticipate. Thus far, Estonfosforit and the non-metallic materials plant have begun joint construction work on a 60-apartment complex for the MZhK [Young People's Housing Complex].

### We Are Not Social Security

For a while we had been somewhat carried away by our plans and by the possibilities which were opened to us by all of the grass-roots spontaneous activity which is OSPK, and the reader might have gotten the impression that it's all just talk and plans for the future. Therefore, it's the right time to tell about what we are doing today and what we've already done in the couple of months our community has been in existence. Because where would our citizen get the articles he expects, if we do not make them? And where, finally, would we get the money for republic khozraschet if we didn't earn it ourselves? There are a lot of examples of such mutual assistance already. Take your pick. Of course, the less robust enterprises will turn to the stronger ones, and that is natural. But it has turned out among us that assistance rendered is always mutual; although we don't worry about petty accounts either—that's not at all how we feel. In general we are not like social security; everything is on the basis of mutual advantage and mutual assistance. Khozraschet is a good master. It does not permit anyone to maintain and subsidize enterprises and their subordinates to operate at a loss; and it forces one to seek ways for increasing production effectiveness. New ways. Today we do not associate at the level of directors and chief engineers, but at literally all levels of specialist and not the chiefs only: at the level of those engaged directly in production; at the level of economists, suppliers, social organizations, and simply at the worker level. We know the capabilities and capacities, and the workload, and what we can finally ask of whom in case of need. And there's no denying that one mind is good, but many is better.

But here is yet another example—incidentally, from a plant not of union, but republic subordination. As little as a year-and-a-half ago a non-metallic material plant, hopelessly outdated in every way, could not even have imagined it; but then on the eve of the November holidays the news reached the plant that according to the results of the republic socialist competition, it had earned second place for the third quarter. Of course, the honors go to the entire collective, and this is a result of the help of the republic construction administration. But not that alone. If in June, when their largest grinding mill went out of order, Estonfosforit had not quickly come to their aid with spare parts, and if Dvigatel had not urgently machined the necessary parts, they would not have achieved this success. It was just these and other similar situations which convinced the collective at the

plant of the necessity for a long-term contract for cooperation with the enterprises on a mutually-beneficial basis. And apart from OSPK, there was no other form for this. As a result, in the last two months alone, the small Seymer enterprise, which is part of Estonfosforit (which is in turn a member of OSPK), rendered assistance to the non-metallic materials plant in repairing its equipment and its excavators to the tune of 12,500 rubles. And Dvigatel quickly came to the rescue, many, many times at the most critical moments (The director himself took charge of it). And in the very near future the Dvigatel and the non-metallic materials plant will sign a contract for next year, in which the volume of metal machining will increase several times over in comparison with the current year. Thus the results are plain to see.

From the foregoing, it does not follow that help is rendered here only to enterprises which belong to OSPK. While we were sitting there and talking about what we were going to say about ourselves to MOLODEZHNIK, they called the director of Dvigatel from the plant and reported that pipes of the necessary diameter had arrived, which the Estonian Theater Society had requested for building scenery, and that they could be sent over. And there are a great many such examples. And that is precisely why, since the economic and social problems are equally severe for all the enterprises of the republic, they should not divide us all, but should bring us together.

Maybe that's why it's so hard to take in accusations such as those in Kh. Luyk's article in VECHERIK of 4 October. It was called "Does Lasnamyae Incline Toward the City, or Toward the Department?" and was devoted to the idea that the Dvigatel plant must not be given land for housing construction, since over the past eight years it has not keep all the promises it had made to the city. And it went on to cite the whole list of sins, painstakingly extracted from the records...without once mentioning the fact that during that time this very Dvigatel had completed projects for the development of the city's social structure amounting to FOURTEEN MILLION rubles.

### A Molecule of Khozraschet

IME [Self-Managing Estonia]—that is not only the abbreviated title of one concept of republic khozraschet; it is also a word in itself, which as we all know translates beautifully into Russian—miracle. However, miracles do not happen, especially in economics. We the production workers know this very well too. Every economic miracle is like an iceberg—riding so beautifully above the surface of the water is only one-seventh of its mass. The remaining six-sevenths of its huge form is down there under water. In our khozraschet, which we are all expecting to miraculously liberate us from all sorts of diktat over economic activity, except for the diktat of reason and usefulness, these six-sevenths are the real preparation for new working conditions, new associations and new forms.



Unfortunately, no one has invited us—the practical workers—to take part in working out the republic khozraschet, nor were our opinions asked; even though it is completely obvious that it is industry itself that is the structure which will contribute the lion's share to the republic's national income; and it is industry itself that is the basis for khozraschet. We don't want to say that this is one of the basic reasons for our anxiety over the fate of the enterprises in the overall process; but of course, it cannot altogether be denied. Having banded together in OSPK for jointly adapting to republic khozraschet, we ourselves have determined to finish what we arbitrarily call a molecule of khozraschet: the interrelationships of enterprises located on the same territory, and their interrelationships with the local Soviets. Khozraschet, in order to solidly stand on the ground, must go from the bottom up; a great many molecules, coming together and operating in concert, make up its body. And we are one such, one of its particles.

Today a lot of theoreticians are trying to work out the conceptions of regional khozraschet. Our position is based upon one of the concepts worked out by the republic Gosplan, taken from materials of the Academy of Social Sciences, the Academy of the National Economy, and the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. One direction of our program, which we are not formulating, is coordinating the trends for industrial development with the ESSR State Industrial Committee at the republic Council of Ministers, whose chairman, Vilyar Veskivyal, has supported our idea. At the same time, Veskivyal said that such an association can respond most effectively to the assigned tasks if it is formed as an independent legal entity, with all the rights and responsibilities that entails, and its own bank account. The idea for our association itself was examined at the Estonian CP Central Committee on 19 October under the leadership of Indrek Toome, and was found to make sense.

Meanwhile, our initial republic conference will be held tomorrow, in the new House of Political Education, and our organizational questions will be decided then: we will adopt our regulations and our program, and will elect the leadership. In the near term, we plan to publish an economic newspaper (along the lines of an economic bulletin) in two languages. And it is right there that our colleagues at other enterprises will find out about new articles and goods, and about new forms of cooperation—with us and with our smaller firms; and once again, regardless of which language they speak at those enterprises.

#### **We Are for the Economic System!**

But there is still one more problem which, if we did not talk about it, we would not be being honest with the readers of MOLODEZHNIK. And that is, what G. Aleshin was said in one of his speeches: "The working collectives have become politicized"...

OSPK is technicians and production workers, and no way is it politicians. This is proven, if only by the fact that all the social movements have long since formulated their platforms and programs. All we have to do yet is to describe ourselves at the founding conference.

And so, our cause is—khozraschet, and the quest for our place in its establishment. But we wouldn't be any kind of leaders, if in a period when even beauty contests are politicized, we would refuse to listen to the voice of the people, who have entrusted us with the responsibility for their fate.

We wouldn't be any kind of leaders, if we were not disturbed by the worries and expectations of the hundreds of thousands of people—those very people, who with their own hands create not only the goods, but the very basis of our common republic khozraschet.

Who, where, when, and what sort of international charters on the rights of man, which we love to quote so much these days, proclaimed that people can be divided into categories? And what's more, not even according to business qualities, not according to their contribution to the general money box, but on the basis of language? It's really hard not to agree with the words of M. Lauristin which he spoke from the rostrum of the party economic aktiv: "Of course, the distrust of the Popular Front did not spring up out of thin air."

OSPK is not stacks of bricks, it is not piles of metal, and it is not warehouses full of products. The OSPK of today is hundreds of thousands of people, vested with the constitutional rights to take an active part in the political life of the republic and the country. The party itself, in proclaiming perestroika, has aroused them, and has called them to this. And all these people would do a very great deal, if each of them was able to do his job in a quiet situation of stability and faith in tomorrow.

Let us do our business in that way, and not judge on the basis of ringing phrases the true intentions and true degree of love for the land on which we all live.

Let us do less phrase mongering, pitting people off against one another, like two stubborn people who meet on a swinging mountain bridge stretched over a roaring rapids.

In this connection I would very much like to conclude our story about ourselves by turning to Boris Tamm, the respected head of TPI [Tallinn Polytechnical Institute], whose speech at the republic party economic aktiv's meeting with V.M. Chebrikov we liked very much. And so let's just quote it here:

"Truly, mutual concessions are needed. We, the communists, must find the solution.

"And we can do this, if we would combine our efforts even a little bit. The Academy of Sciences and the Polytechnical Institute, along with certain specialists from other institutions, have recently devoted a great deal of attention to working out a program by which we could, according to our capabilities, quickly and rationally begin to produce high technology. There is nothing more natural than to find afterwards that the cornerstones will have been laid, and a common language and common interests will have been found with such a large and progressive collective as Dvigatel, and that we can together begin working in this area. And that is our proposal for cooperation. We must all be certain that the extremist positions of certain people do not divert us from our chosen path—the path of perestroyka."

On our part, however, while laying the cornerstones, we do not want to and do not dare to rush you, honored scientists; for haste has already brought us a lot of grief. Thus we shall expect in the very near future those lists from the republic Gosplan and Council of Ministers, and from Tallin Gorispolkom as well, indicating the paramount needs of the public and the city, which we asked them about.

They will also serve as the basis on which we would even today like to build our immediate practical activities for the good of and the consolidation of all the citizens of our republic, which has been so stirred up by quarrels and squabbles.

Let's remember that we are all for perestroyka. And we can help it best of all by sticking to business, and not quarrels.

*By authority of the plant director's OSPK organizational committee:*

*[Signed, V. Yarovoy (Dvigatel),*

*V. Aleksandrov (Volta),*

*A. Revkuts (Estonfosforit),*

*T. Beknazarov (Pykhyale) and*

*V. Libman (Non-Metallic Metals Plant)].*

#### **Latvian Interfront Organizing Committee Members Interviewed**

*18000387a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 16 Dec 88 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Interfront organizing committee members Anatoliy Georgiyevich Alekseyev, deputy chief of the Local Trade Administration of the Riga Gorispolkom, Yuriy Leonkhardovich Lisment, senior instructor of the Ogrskiy Rayon professional firefighting unit, and Anatoliy Konstantinovich Belaychuk, Riga Civil Aviation Engineering Institute imeni Leninist Komsomol prorektor for academic work; interview conducted by Irina Litvinova and Yevgeniy Orlov: "Conversations in Room #1108": "Interfront: Myths and Reality"]

[Text] There are two diametrically opposed streams of information relative to Interfront. Each one contradicts the other. Some people even believe that "Moscow is the

secret founder of Interfront and the goal in establishing it is to bring about a critical point in our republic's current situation so that it will be possible to take the necessary measures..." Shall we stop compounding the myths?

[Question] Tell us what, in your opinion, marked the beginning of the intermovement in our republic.

[Belaychuk] The establishment of the Latvian People's Front, of course. Why? Many of the people who came to us had originally helped found the Latvian People's Front.

[Question] That is to say, they attempted to realize their activism through the People's Front?

[Belaychuk] Exactly. What happened then was that during discussion of the draft People's Front Charter and Program these people got the feeling that no one was listening very much to their opinion. Worse, they did not even want to hear it. A proposal can be rejected and no one should object to that, that is part of democracy... You may listen to a person and not agree with him. But when people are not even given an opportunity to speak...

[Question] More specifically, please.

[Belaychuk] We submitted a proposal on behalf of the Riga Civil Aviation Engineering Institute. We were told that we should submit the proposal at the congress. Our representative, Professor Vinogradov, signed up to speak. He submitted the theses of his report, as was required. Well, that was fine. I should add that a rather large Latvian People's Front support group had been organized at our institute. It included 499 of our instructors and students from Riga, and they were represented by four delegates at the congress, so we had every reason to hope that at least one delegate would get a chance to speak. These were practical proposals that we were submitting. For example, everyone is concerned about the possible construction of new nuclear power plants and hydroelectric power stations. We suggested an alternative plan: to design, build and staff branch stations. Vinogradov himself is a leading specialist in that field. The only people who got a chance to evaluate this proposal were the 20 people in a small auditorium where the professor made his report...

As for the congress itself, the way it was conducted, the audience reaction! You could say that the Latvian People's Front was our "godfather."

[Lisment] How did I, a Latvian, come to join Interfront? Firstly, I have a hard time accepting red-white-red symbolism. In 1949 we established a kolkhoz near Rauna. Then came the League Festival. We were singing and dancing when suddenly "guests" appeared from out of the forest. Bearing those same symbols. They lined us up against a wall, brandished weapons and forced us to sing "God Save Latvia"... As they left they "shot" us, firing

off a volley over our heads. I was 14 years old at the time. I realize that people have been shot under various flags. The red, white and red is being established as our official flag, and I can accept that, though with a heavy heart. I am a jurist by training and I respect the law. But I cannot understand—nor can many other people, incidentally—why on 7 November the Latvian People's Front column marched carrying red, white and red banners. The government of our republic stated in its resolution that this symbol could be used at ethnic, labor and family celebrations... A trivial matter? What about the banners saying "Interfront = Internazis," "Interfront Is the Last Hope of the Stalinist Criminals," or "Interfront: Back Into the Swamp of Stagnation"? Is it OK to portray a serious social organization which does not agree with your position in such sinister tones? My son, who is studying in Leningrad, wrote: 'Papa, what is happening there? Whose side are you on, papa?' Prior to the Latvian People's Front Congress I was not on anyone's side. Then I met the organizers of Interfront. There are now 24 members in our support group, which meets at a cardboard factory.

[Belaychuk] That is just one person's story. The general rule is this: the non-Latvian population which we had been urging to join the Latvian People's Front prior to its congress came to us after the congress and became the basis for Interfront. Today we estimate that Interfront has approximately 240,000 members.

[Aleksyev] I think that the Latvian People's Front was too hasty in convening its founding congress. It should have been postponed by a least one month, the opinion of the republic's non-Latvian population heard and attention paid to it, and forces consolidated—and Interfront might never have come into existence. Now the Internationalist Front of LaSSR Working People—though people add "the so-called" to its name—is a reality. It is no longer possible to discuss whether or not it should be established.

[Question] Judging by Interfront's draft charter it is being set up as a social organization. The People's Front is a social and political organization. Where, in your opinion, lies the principal difference?

[Belaychuk] The word "political" is above all a claim to ideology. We feel that ideological work is the party's prerogative. We do not plan any "attacks" on Marxist-Leninist ideology, because Interfront is a social organization.

[Question] Interfront occasionally bears this reproach: you are hiding something, there is no glasnost concerning your activities.

[Aleksyev] We do not refuse to grant interviews to anyone. Just yesterday (2 December—authors' note) we answered question from Finnish journalists and staff members of the French and Canadian embassies in

Moscow. We have had visitors from the FRG. Incidentally, all of them found us without any difficulty whatsoever. It is strange how in this republic some people want to portray us as an "underground." By the way, a word about glasnost. Our organizing committee has resolved that we are going to present our statements and documents exclusively through the mass media. We are in no way whatsoever connected with all the illegal handbills bearing the Interfront name.

[Belaychuk] Regarding glasnost. The recently published Interfront Charter was, according to our estimates, discussed by 75,000 people prior to publication. We will present all amendments to our documents to the delegates before the start of our congress.

[Question] Tell us, is it a myth or reality that Interfront's ranks are comprised primarily of officials of various ranks, retirees and former military personnel, and that it has few blue-collar workers among its members?

[Lisment] That is absolutely false. It is precisely blue-collar workers from industrial enterprises who are the backbone of Interfront.

[Belaychuk] We have a different problem. Whereas Latvians predominate in the People's Front, we have just the opposite situation. Though [Latvians] have been approaching us they are in no hurry to join until they get a look at our programmatic documents and are convinced of our sincerity.

[Aleksyev] Currently all the rayons in Riga with the exception of Leninskiy Rayon have Interfront support group councils. These also exist in other cities in our republic.

We have been approached by the heads of many enterprises and organizations and the chairmen of labor collective councils, asking: what would we think about the possibility of them joining Interfront? The opinion of the founding congress organizing committee is this: it would be desirable for "leading individuals" not to join one of the fronts, but instead to take everything positive that the fronts propose, everything that fosters restructuring, and give it practical implementation. Because the ultimate goal of both the Latvian People's Front and Interfront and other social organizations is to bring about restructuring in this country.

[Question] Interfront's draft charter was recently published. On the basis of that document could you please comment on what makes your organization special?

[Belaychuk] We have striven to create an organizational charter which is democratic in nature and is capable of suppressing a bureaucratic leadership style within the organization, so that Interfront will not have a tendency to develop an apparatus, so that membership in or withdrawal



from the organization will be unconstrained. So that voting out a "rusty" leader will merely require a decision by the assembly, not all sorts of interim procedures...

The amount of dues should be established by the organization itself. Whether five kopecks or a ruble, that is its business. The organization itself should also decide how much to send to "the top." If it feels that the leadership is functioning well, then it will contribute more; if not, then it will do the opposite. If the leadership finds itself penniless, then it will be forced to resign; leaders will have an incentive to work in such a way that the primary organizations remain happy with them.

I cannot say that our draft charter is revolutionary. Of all the charters with which I am familiar ours is closest in spirit to that of the Lithuanian Yedinstvo Movement.

[Question] How was the Interfront organizing committee set up, and how many members does it have?

[Alekseyev] The Interfront organizing committee was established twice. The first time was at a meeting at the Latvija Firm, and the second time was when we were considering our draft charter. Currently on the organizing committee there are 20 people from that original meeting who have proven themselves, plus 15 new members. There are still roughly 35 seats reserved...

The Interfront Council has elected five equal co-chairmen. Belaychuk and myself are among them.

[Question] Tell us what specific actions (besides expressing your opinions and your position) Interfront has undertaken recently.

[Alekseyev] Our draft charter states that restructuring must be brought about through actions, not just words. Recently we had a voluntary Saturday workday; people worked on filtration equipment, and an organization from Leningradskiy Rayon helped out a children's home, repairing electrical equipment and household appliances...

[Question] Regarding voluntary Saturday workdays. Would it not perhaps be better not to work on repairing breaches and doing jobs that someone else should have done, but instead to go picket the ispolkoms and the ministries and demand that they perform their assigned functions?

[Alekseyev] We feel that in the time we would spend standing in picket lines we can accomplish much and put a lot of things back in order.

[Belaychuk] Especially since we are not talking about sweeping streets or harvesting potatoes. And we do not reject picketing as a means of action altogether. We set up our first picket line in front of the gorispolkom building in defense of the Riga city flag. We demanded that the soviet's decision be respected. It decided to fly the city flag on one of the towers of Riga Castle, and that

is its right. In the end a place was found for the red, white and red flag as well—there are five towers. We set up our second picket line during the last republic Supreme Soviet session. Our appeal: say no to pressure tactics against deputies! Picketers from Helsinki-86 and the Latvian Movement for National Independence did not like our slogans. Yet our people reached an understanding with many members of the people's fronts. Though at first they were received in a hostile manner. Discussions took place. Afterwards they served our picketers tea and coffee.

[Question] Such is life. Yet there is another vital, recurring issue: children on the picket line...

[Belaychuk] We are categorically opposed to that. We accept persons 18 years old and above as Interfront members, and a person can join our youth organization at 14. Some adults are responsible for the actions of young people in every organization. As for the picket lines, they should be manned by adults.

[Lisment] Saturday workdays—as they were envisioned by Lenin—increase people's activism, people get to know one another through voluntary labor and become united... That is where young people can make their mark.

[Question] Why are there few members of the intelligentsia in Interfront?

[Belaychuk] That depends on how you look at it! There are many members of the technical intelligentsia. Yet with regard to the creative intelligentsia—writers, poets, artists and journalists—we really are lacking.

[Lisment] Thus far they have taken a wait-and-see attitude, waiting for the Interfront declaration to be published. Like myself, many of them have already gotten burned once with the Latvian People's Front Program and they do not want to make the same mistake again.

[Belaychuk] Just to make this point clear once and for all: the Internationalist Front of LaSSR Working People is not an "anti-People's Front," it is not "anti-Party" and in particular it is not "anti-Latvian," as some of the mass media would like to portray it. Suffice it to say that Latvian People's Front members may participate in our movement—our draft charter contains no restrictions in this regard.

Who is an Interfront member? The draft says that that is anyone who takes part in the work of our organization. That was how it was at the Saturday workday: many Latvian People's Front members who responded to our appeal were de facto participants in the intermovement.

[Question] What is your attitude toward the members of the Latvian People's Front Duma? Whose position, whose views and convictions seem most constructive to you?

[Alekseyev] I am very sympathetic toward Viktor Avotynsh. It is evident that he is striving for consolidation, and he is constantly urging the Duma to seek some point of convergence.

[Belaychuk] Vladlen Dozortsev. Despite the fact that we did not get along well previously. But after the first televised meeting he came to us and suggested that groups of experts began negotiating disputed issues. In front of all the people of our republic both fronts suggested that ways of cooperating be sought. So now we need to keep that promise. And I cannot help but respond to Dozortsev's forthright desire to consolidate the efforts of our two fronts as soon as possible. I sympathize with the views of Sergey Yegorenko when he says that there are too few blue-collar workers in the Latvian People's Front and that they need to work on getting them involved in efforts to improve our lives.

However, I cannot agree with those Duma members who are attempting to adopt harsher formulations and who reject the very possibility of compromise. We cannot reach any agreement like that, that is clear.

Personally I take a clear-cut and clear stance when it comes to unification of our efforts. In that event I am willing to cooperate, willing to overcome whatever doubts and disagreements I may have. But if a person does not strive for consolidation when he speaks but instead immediately regards the other side as the enemy, then it is very difficult to negotiate with that person.

[Alekseyev] A few words about trust. Whom should one believe? The person who is sincere and whose words jibe with his actions. But recall the recent teachers' congress. There was not even a semblance of democracy there: candidates were removed from the ballot on the basis of their ethnic background, and the opposition had difficulty getting permission to address the congress. Why does the Latvian People's Front, which says that it is favors objectivity and a democratic approach, not condemn this sort of undemocratic, neo-Stalinist selection of teachers to attend an all-union congress? This represents a deviation from the Latvian People's Front Program. And Duma member Ivans could give up his mandate in favor of an ordinary teacher for whom it would be much more important to attend this professional forum in Moscow. There is something wrong here. Often Duma members avoid replying to direct questions, claiming that they are not competent to do so. I find that hard to believe—these are articulate, educated people who hold scientific degrees. Ask a professor about the legislated bilingualism that exists in several countries, and he says that he has never heard anything about that. Ask an instructor from the Riga Pedagogical Institute who the occupiers are, and he says that it is the historians who should decide that... At a party aktiv meeting the Duma chairman was asked about the Latvian People's Front of the 1940's: was it not the predecessor of the present front? Again the answer is: "I do not know." Strange, is it not? There are many examples of this sort. I consider answers like that a ruse.

[Question] Interfront's general program seems to be taking shape. But what will be the activities of its small primary formations?

[Lisment] I can tell you what the support group at the cardboard factory where I am a member is planning to work on. First of all, production organization. Our enterprise is the only one in the country that produces an adhesive tape essential in radio electronics. The enterprise is profitable, and it is under republic jurisdiction. So we can make an important contribution. But the whole production process depends on imports, and they are going to be halted sometime soon. We need to find a solution. Otherwise our factory will be shut down. And we feel that that concerns not just the administrators, but us as well.

[Question] Do the fronts' opinions differ on the question of a state language?

[Lisment] The behavior of certain overly zealous implementors of the state language resolution worry people. I have heard that at the Ogrskiy Auto Combine the business language was changed rather quickly. When a driver signs in his log book is in Latvian. But his route will take him outside the republic... Was there any need to be so hasty? Trade, health care, consumer services and the militia are another matter altogether—in these areas bilingualism is simply essential. But it should be introduced in an intelligent, unhurried way.

[Question] If it is a state language, then that means that it is primarily the state which must see to the material and other conditions connected with the instruction of it.

[Lisment] Absolutely. The state, through its departments, has not done enough in this respect in the past. Yet today the blame is being passed on to the public. That is wrong. As a Latvian I can say with complete confidence that it is unbelievably difficult for any adult to learn my language.

[Question] Regarding migration and migrants.

[Lisment] Of course, migration is a problem, there is no denying that. I do not use the word "migrant"; it offends people, it is like a curse word.

Now a word about the figures on migration-generated population growth. The newspaper TSINYA published a speech by the deputy chairman of the State Statistical Committee which refutes data which have appeared in certain publications. The crux of the matter is simple: the erroneous figure, i.e. 100,000 per year in this republic, was taken from the number of residence permits granted to citizens. So that figure includes people who moved within the republic, changed apartments or

received their first apartment, returned from their studies or from the army, or who moved from the country to the city or vice versa. Thus the 100,000 figure in the form that it has been presented is purely a statistical fabrication.

[Question] How many people did in fact immigrate to this republic?

[Lisment] In 1987 the number of persons immigrating to our republic—including persons demobilized from the army, returning from studies elsewhere, etc.—was 59,000. During the first half of this year this figure was 25,000. The number of outright immigrants to our republic during the first six months of this year was 6,700. That is 35 percent less than last year.

[Belaychuk] In other words, the problem of migration-generated population growth exists, and it is an important problem, but we should not exaggerate it or distort the data.

[Alekseyev] The growth of the waiting list for apartments in Riga in recent years has been portrayed in an equally tendentious fashion. People "forget" that it has grown longer primarily on account of the fact that during this period many limitations have been lifted, allowing more people to put in a request for a new apartment. For instance, a husband and wife can now each be on the list at their own enterprise, the area of apartment space a person wishing to get on the list may have has been increased, etc.

[Belaychuk] In order to solve the problem of migration-induced growth we must get to its root: extensive economic development. When planning for production growth we must base our planning on the number of labor resources available, not on a production increase quota. We in Interfront urge labor collective councils first to count the number of workers they have, then to compile their plan. Today this is not being done either by Gosplan or by our republic Council of Ministers. Migration is possible, say, between enterprises: an unprofitable one is closed and the people go get jobs at a profitable one. The economic method of migration control is quite simple: you have no right to develop new production if it requires an increased number of workers. This method gets people motivated; they can, for instance, introduce new technology.

[Question] What is your assessment of the draft entitled "On Measures to Halt Migration-Induced Population Growth in the LaSSR"?

[Belaychuk] Our organizing committee has expressed its opinion in the statement distributed to A. Gorbunov, E. Bresis and A. Zitmanis. That statement says that this draft cannot be accepted even as a basis. It is a typical example of an attempt to solve a highly complex social and economic problem using administrative-command methods.

In terms of its content the draft is anti-constitutional, since it rejects fundamental statutes in the constitutions of the LaSSR and the USSR. It is in violation of the Law on State Enterprises, the Civil Code, the Code of Labor Legislation, the Code of Legislation on Marriage, the Family and Child Protection, the Housing Code and the Law on Universal Military Service. The draft infringes substantially on civil rights set forth in article 2; 4; 7; 16; 22; 25 and 2; 26, 1 and in particular 13 and 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Adoption of this draft resolution would lead to a conflict between the executive and legislative organs of power, on account of which it would have to be repealed under the constitutional review powers of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Furthermore, public reaction in the republic to this undemocratic and anti-constitutional resolution would lead to a worsening of the situation in our republic.

The organizing committee deems it essential that the adoption of this resolution be postponed until after the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations. During that period of time constructive constitutional measures designed to reduce migration-induced population growth could be drawn up with the assistance of labor collectives and soviets of people's deputies.

[Question] Our conversation is drawing to a close. Have you not gotten the impression that we have failed to ask you about something important?

[Belaychuk] Virtually nothing has been said about politics and economics.

[Question] Let us regard that as the topic for another meeting. To be held at the conclusion of the founding congress of the Internationalist Front of LaSSR Working People...

The journalists' opinion: This article has lain in our editorial files for approximately two weeks. We were waiting for the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia, at which consolidation of the two fronts could occur, or where at least the main avenues toward such consolidation could be outlined. Sorry to say that did not happen. The leaders of Interfront and the Latvian People's Front had neither the desire nor the patience to hear each other out. We feel that that is not the only problem. As Viktor Avotynsh commented at a press conference given following the Forum, consolidation of the fronts at the present time is both impossible and unacceptable. The reason is ideological disputes.

So, one way or another, the Internationalist Front of LaSSR Working People has become a reality. Its founding congress, which is planned for 14 January 1989, obviously will not only provide answers to many questions, it will also raise new ones.



It seems to us that the main question will be the same as before: how to unite both the fronts, because we share a common home—LATVIA.

P.S. We request that our honorarium for this article be sent to Account #700412 at the Yerevan Zhilsotsbank, for assistance to earthquake victims.

**LPF Appeal to Population To Identify Locations of Dumped Pollutants**

18080019 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
20 Dec 88 p 4

["Action 'Dumps'. Appeal of the Latvian Popular Front's Environmental Committee"]

[Text] Due to decades of irresponsible industrial, agricultural, transportation, cities' communal services, and other activities, hundreds of large and small toxic waste dumps with various degrees of danger to human health and environment were created in the Latvian territory. One may find these dumps near cities and villages, in forests, and in swamps. "Lakes" and "ponds" of liquid waste (different acids, lyes, chemical compounds, crude oil, phenol, pesticides, herbicides, human waste, etc) and solid waste dumps containing various dangerous chemical compounds (particularly, dumps containing burned fluorescent lights that are responsible for mercury pollution of water, dead cattle "cemeteries", etc.) are especially dangerous.

Only a small part of these dumps' reservoirs are built in such a way that they would prevent compounds dangerous to humans and environment from entering soil and underground water. How many of these dangerous dumps are located near rivers, streams, and lakes? How many hundreds and thousands of residents of towns and villages are now drinking water that is dangerous to their health? At the present time, no specialist would be able to estimate the volume of underground water pollution, because, unfortunately, there is practically not a single authority that is responsible for its control in many large areas.

Industrial and other dumps are dangerous because the harmful compounds are transferred by rain or melting snow water deep in the ground and are further spread by the underground water streams. In the areas containing rocks that water can easily filter through, toxic pollutants have already reached depths of several tens of meters (for example, in Incukalns up to 90m!) and are entering layers, where the quality supplies of artesian drinking waters are being formed.

If we want to be healthy, if we want our children and grandchildren to be healthy, all of us here in Latvia, even in its most remote corners, must learn the dangers we are facing. Therefore, we must be active. Recently, the leadership of the republic adopted a resolution urging to carry out an inventory of industrial, departmental, and other waste. They sent out special forms for determining

the types and total amounts of these dangerous liquids, solutions, and solid compounds that are in existence. This is necessary in order to start their neutralization and collection in the environmentally safe, specially built dumps.

It is absolutely clear that for some reason or another, more often due to the fear of responsibility, the major part of enterprises will conceal the data about the illegally created, abandoned, and disguised dumps located at large distances from these enterprises. Therefore, a large part of dangerous dumps will remain beyond control.

Only with active help of all people, we will be able to get a complete understanding of to what degree our environment and, especially, the underground waters are polluted.

The LPF is appealing to everyone of you, the farmer, worker, forester, office worker, college and school student, to check in the shortest time the known to people waste dumps in your area.

We ask you to determine as accurate, as possible the following parameters of these dumps: 1) administrative location (rayon, town, village Soviet, kolkhoz, nearest houses), 2) location in nature (forest, field, swamp, hill, etc.), 3) location in relation to roads (showing highways, road name, distance from towns), 4) location in relation to the nearest water reservoirs (lakes, streams, rivers, canals, water storages, etc.), and 5) to determine (within availability) the rock formations (clay, sand, granite, dolomite, limestone, etc.) of the dump site.

It is mandatory to determine the dump's a) size (length, width, sq. m, or hectares), b) contents (liquid or solid waste), and c) "owners": is it used now, is it abandoned, or disguised. How long the dump exists (or existed). Determine the measures being taken (or not taken at all!) during the creation of the dump to prevent pollution of underground and above-the-ground water.

In order for a specialist to be able to find these dumps and to evaluate their danger, it is necessary to have at least an elementary map of the location (diagram, sketch, etc.).

It is necessary to determine visually any negative effects of the dump and their area on plants and wildlife, air (specific smells, etc), as well as on the inhabited areas near the dump, including single houses.

It should be determined, whether these dumps are located within the specially protected zones (along rivers, around lakes, sea, etc.) covered by the special LaSSR Council of Ministers' decisions, or within the boundaries of protected nature's sites (National park, nature parks,

parks, forests, restricted areas, etc.) covered by the 1987 LaSSR Council of Ministers' decision No 107 "On specially protected natural objects in the LaSSR territory".

We also ask you to inform us about those dumps "owners", who arranged the dump in accordance with regulations, and about those, who grossly violated the environmental protection rules and regulations, were fined for them, but continue their dangerous practices, and where the responsible services and civic organizations can prove it by documents. By this request we do not want to imply that we will call the law violators to the criminal responsibility. In the necessary cases the special services will do it.

We are sure that the action "Dumps" will receive the support of the whole nation and we will get a detailed information.

The LSU geography department's group, instructors and students, took upon itself the responsibility for the data processing. The prepared documents will be submitted to the Environmental protection committee and the Council of Ministers. The Popular Front reserves the right to control the further resolution of this very important problem and will actively support the implementation of the corrective measures at the sites. In our opinion, we must widely inform the society about the real situation in Latvia.

Before any concrete measures are taken at the State level, we call on all residents and Popular Front groups to take upon themselves the public control over the environmentally dangerous shameful spots in our small Latvia. We will not allow further illegal activities and pollution of environment!

Please, send all the materials to the following address: 226010, Riga, F. Gaila Street 10, LSU geography department, Action "Dumps". The group that will process the materials, guarantees that without the LPF Board's consent, no materials will be arbitrary released to the press or otherwise disclosed.

#### **Armenian Historian Argues for Autonomous Territory Self-Determination**

18300197a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
19 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences R. Agabov, docent in the Department of Scientific Communism, Yerevan Polytechnic Institute: "From a Position of Democracy: Restructuring of Interethnic Relations—a Logical Mechanism for Achieving a New Qualitative State of Socialism"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union Party Conference took note of the fact that the course of strategy toward comprehensive and revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, formulated by the party at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, is

steadily and unwaveringly being implemented. At the same time the conference adopted a concept of reforms which encompass all domains of societal affairs, an exceptionally important place among which is held by the area of interethnic relations.

The need for new thinking and a restoration of Leninist principles and standards is acutely perceived in the area of interethnic relations. As we know, Leninism attached enormous significance to the right of nations to self-determination and their voluntary unification into a single, integral socialist state. It was correctly presumed thereby that the right to secession would help strengthen the unity of formerly oppressed nations and ethnic groups.

Lenin's ideas began to be put into practice following the victory of the Great October Revolution. A unique union of peoples arose, the banner of which proclaimed international unity of all nations and ethnic groups, the right to self-determination, rebirth and development of culture, acceleration of advance by formerly backward ethnic regions, and overcoming of interethnic discord. Thanks to efforts by all the peoples of the USSR, a unified, integrated economic complex was formed. A new historical community of people—the Soviet people—became reality.

The Armenian people has also achieved historic advance within the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR. Duly noting achievements and gains, our people have by tradition paid the tribute of profound respect and gratitude to the great Russian people for its selfless assistance and genuine internationalism as well as its inestimable contribution to the development of all areas of life in our republic. The people of Soviet Armenia inalterably links its present and future with the Russian people and the other peoples of the USSR.

Many difficulties have accumulated, however, alongside the impressive and indisputable achievements in the domain of ethnic relations. The dynamic nature inherent in the initial stage of formation of a multinational Soviet state was substantially lost and undermined by departure from the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, by violations of the law during the period of cult of personality, and by the ideology and psychology of stagnation. Existing contradictions and conflicts were ignored, hushed up, buried deep, or suppressed in official speeches and scholarly papers dealing with the social sciences.

Perestroika has made it possible to bring to light urgent, pressing problems, conflicts and contradictions in interethnic relations in the various regions of our country. They are not chance or random, and they have their roots: historical, ethnic, ideological, legal, etc. M. S. Gorbachev wrote the following, having interethnic relations in mind: "I want to say one more time: if negative phenomena arise in this highly sensitive domain of

human relations, they arise not on bare ground, but arise in particular due to bureaucratic attitudes and disregard of legal rights...." Incidentally, he stressed the same thought in regard to the Nagorny Karabakh in his address at the 18 July 1988 session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At this point I should like to address some theoretical issues pertaining to the formation of ethnic-state entities during the period of the Stalin cult of personality. Back in the 1930's the question of formulating the principles of transformation of autonomous republics into union republics was being addressed. Stalin, in his characteristic style, formulated the attributes which had to be present to serve as a basis "for redesignating autonomous republics to the category of union republic."

First of all, Stalin held that a union republic should be on the periphery, not surrounded on all sides by Soviet territory, so that it could exercise its right of secession from the USSR. One might ask why the geographic location of a given nation should serve as a basis for forming a union republic.

Secondly, Stalin "taught" that "the nationality which has given a Soviet republic its name" should represent within the republic a more or less compact majority. This attribute fails to stand up to criticism, since the population of a republic may change as a consequence of migration processes, birth rate, and other factors. It is not necessary to go far afield for examples. In the Kazakh SSR, for example, Kazakhs, who gave the republic its name, do not comprise a majority.

Thirdly, in the opinion of Stalin "it is essential that a republic not be very small in the sense of size of population, not less but larger than at least 1 million, let us say." Nor can one agree with this attribute, for the figure was picked arbitrarily.

Stalin presented his ideas as a model of "defense" of Leninism. And yet it is a well-known fact that V. I. Lenin held a totally different opinion. He wrote that "...only by carrying out full democratization in all domains, including determination of the boundaries of a state in conformity with the sentiments of the population... is it possible entirely to eliminate ethnic oppression." Of course V. I. Lenin is not speaking about changing an autonomous republic into a union republic, but the main thing here is the methodological significance of Lenin's position, namely a democratic method of resolving various problems of interethnic relations. It follows from this that the question of determination of the legal and political status of a given national-state entity must be resolved democratically and taking into account the "sentiments" of the people.

The question of the national-state and territorial-administrative division of this country was also settled not in the most ideal fashion through the fault of Stalin. And Stalin quashed all attempts to improve the existing

system. For example, Stalin stated in irritation on 25 November 1936 at the Eighth Congress of Soviets: "There are people in the USSR who are quite willing and strongly inclined tirelessly to carve up the krais and oblasts, creating administrative confusion and uncertainty thereby. The draft Constitution (he is talking about the draft 1936 Constitution) creates restraints on these people. And this is a very good thing, because in this area, as in many other things, we need an atmosphere of confidence, we need stability and clarity."

Thus Stalin knew perfectly well the mood and attitude of people who did not wish to accept the existing territorial-administrative division of the union republics, but he displayed dogmatism in theory and dictatorial rule in practice, and he curbed his opponents with a "Stalinist constitutional bridle," considering it to be "a very good" means of "shutting" mouths.

Nor was the Stalinist "heavy hand" in constitutional development, regrettably, overcome during the period of stagnation, just as consistency was not manifested in all other areas of our societal affairs.

Active, effective efforts to overcome the consequences of the cult of personality began after the April (1985) and October (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenums, in connection with which voices began to be raised openly on the need to revise the USSR Constitution, for this idea was in the process of ripening long before April 1985. Today one hears voiced the unusual question of what should be guiding us in our daily lives—Leninist principles or the Constitution? Which of these is more important? Of course one should not place Leninist teachings on socialism in contrast to the Constitution. At the same time they certainly are not identical, for V. I. Lenin's system of views is a teaching, not a "code of legislative enactments." The task consists in ensuring that Leninist ideas and principles of socialism, including pertaining to ethnic relations, are formally articulated in law in the Constitution.

It seems important and a good idea to remind ourselves once again that V. I. Lenin recognized the right of self-determination by all nations without exception. Therefore there should be no restrictions on this in the Constitution. An identical approach, however, without considering all circumstances, is unacceptable. Therefore, if the USSR Constitution recognizes the right of free secession from the USSR by the union republics, then autonomous entities must at least have the right of free withdrawal from a given republic and voluntary accession to another union republic.

One can presume that such a legislative action will under no circumstances lead to anarchy and the "flight" of national-autonomous entities from one union republic to another. On the contrary, it can become an effective means of strengthening friendship among peoples, since the leadership of a union republic will endeavor not to provide grounds of autonomy in order to raise the



question of withdrawal from a given union republic. The population of an autonomous republic or autonomous oblast in turn will adhere to the rule "let well enough alone." In any case an autonomous entity should not be deprived of the right of self-determination. And, finally, it is not the "territory" of an autonomous entity but rather the people who live on a given territory which should be the determining factor in arriving at a correct solution.

It is important particularly to stress that improvement of interethnic relations is not limited only to the framework of change of national-state organizational arrangement as part of restructuring of the political system. To accomplish this, in our opinion, it is also essential:

- vigorously to confirm and innovatively to develop Leninist standards and principles of nationalities policy, correctly to combine national and international, ethnic and interethnic interests, and to develop the independence of the republics and autonomous entities in an inseparable unity with their responsibility for the flourishing and prosperity of the entire multiethnic state;
- in each national region to ensure an organic unity of economic, social, and cultural progress, to create conditions for local national and Russian bilingualism, taking into account specific local conditions, and to display concern for the active functioning of national/ethnic languages in all domains of sociopolitical affairs;
- to strengthen patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of children, adolescents, youth, and all working people, to form educational awareness of interethnic relations, and to ensure that members of a given nationality combat first and foremost "their own" nationalism and chauvinism;
- to mobilize the political experience, the labor ethics and moral potential of all classes and social strata for the purpose of forming a socialist, internationalist way of life, to heighten the social responsibility of the intelligentsia in this process, and to resolve all ethnic or nationalities problems within the framework of democracy and rule of law;
- to step up efforts in the area of profound scientific-theoretical formulation of a modern nationalities policy;
- to guide the activities of party organizations and Communists of all nationalities toward uniting working people behind the tasks of reconstruction and to ensure full and adequate representation of nations and ethnic groups in all party and sociopolitical organizations and governmental-economic management and administrative bodies.

Improvement of worker interethnic relations is linked with full justification with restructuring of Soviet society, but at the same time some people forget that restructuring of socialism represents a comparatively lengthy period in the development of socialism, and therefore one cannot demand that all problems be resolved immediately. One must bear in mind that revolutionary negation of the old is a complex, dialectically conflictive process, which demands a responsible, conscientious, and wise approach.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution entitled "On Interethnic Relations" contains the following beautiful statement: "The conference expresses firm confidence that our present and future lies in consolidation and unity of all Soviet peoples. It is the patriotic and internationalist duty of each and every citizen, of each and every Communist to safeguard and increase everything that promotes cohesion of Soviet society as the foundation of free development and flourishing of all peoples of the USSR and strengthening of the might of our homeland. V. I. Lenin called upon us to accomplish this, and the Communist Party is proceeding along this path." Soviet Armenia, the people of which has always been distinguished by industriousness and a high degree of discipline and organization, is called upon to make a worthy contribution toward achieving these stated goals.

**USSR Deputy General Procurator Katusev  
Interviewed on NKAO**

18300217 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
3 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview by TASS correspondents in Baku V. Ternovskiy and L. Kanashenko with the USSR Deputy General Procurator A.F. Katusev: "Answerability to the Law"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA introduction]

[Text] Alarming days in Azerbaijan and Armenia. People demand the restoration of law and order and wait for answers to questions disturbing them. TASS correspondents V. Ternovskiy and L. Kanashenko contacted the USSR Deputy General Procurator, counsellor first class, A.F. Katusev, and asked him to answer their questions concerning the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and the adjacent areas.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Filippovich, it seems, people are very interested in what is actually happening in the republics and regions. Different, sometimes, the most outrageous rumors are being spread about the events, which makes the atmosphere even more heated.

[Katusev] Unfortunately, hooligan elements provoked mass riots in a series of places, for example, in Nakhichevan, Kirovabad, Sheki, and Zakataly. Being heated up by nationalistic and other instigating slogans, uncontrolled groups committed a series of crimes. People were killed. These facts are being investigated by an investigative group of the USSR Procuracy, which is headed by the investigator for especially important cases at the General Procurator's office, A.I. Kondratyev. I must tell you that procurators, investigators, and workers of other law and order organizations were sent to the republic

from almost all regions of the country. AzSSR procurators and investigators investigated a number of cases. Several criminals have already been arrested.

I would like to note that mass riots causing human victims also took place in some settlements in the Armenian SSR. Criminal charges have been brought against the guilty there, too. Measures are being taken to identify and punish the guilty in a timely manner. No crime should remain unpunished.

[Correspondent] You brought our attention to the danger of nationalistic slogans. It is known that calls of a nationalistic nature are sounding now both in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Are these people accountable for such actions?

[Katusev] Of course. And, I would stress, they are criminally liable. Because the USSR Constitution states that any advocacy of racial or ethnic discrimination or scorn is punishable by law. Therefore, the AzSSR Criminal Code declared that a violation of ethnic or racial equality is a crime. According to the republic Criminal Code, propaganda or agitation to incite ethnic enmity is punishable by imprisonment for a term from 6 months to 3 years, or by exile for a term of 2 to 5 years. Similar criminal liability for the same crimes is stipulated by law in other Union republics.

The especially dangerous nature of these crimes is indicated by the fact that the law ascribes them to the State crimes' category. Of course, there cannot be any other approach toward such a socially dangerous activity in a society based on the brotherly friendship of peoples.

[Correspondent] The population is being asked to turn in firearms, weapons, as well as other objects designed to adversely affect the health of citizens. What are the legal consequences of this?

[Katusev] This is very important. In the existent heated situation, when emotions often take over the reason, you would agree with me that to have weapons is dangerous. As to the legal consequences, I should note that in accordance with the article 220 of the AzSSR Criminal Code, article 232 of the ArSSR, and respective articles of other Union republics' Criminal Codes, an illegal carrying, possession, buying, manufacturing, or selling of firearms, as well as any weapons, is subject to criminal liability.

[Correspondent] At the central square of Baku, it was announced from a meeting's podium that the procuracy arrested the founder and leader of the society Krunk, Manucharov. Is this information correct?

[Katusev] Yes, A.M. Manucharov has been arrested. However, not because he is the leader of Krunk, but rather for completely different reasons. As the investigation has established, he headed a group of people who

plundered people's property and managed to pocket the State's assets in an especially large volume. Manucharov's accomplices were arrested together with him.

I must tell you that these people converted the construction materials combine in Stepanakert, where Manucharov was a director for 10 years and the bureau for public services into sources of unearned income. They were stealing marble and granite, and were taking bribes for the installation of tombstones.

The degree of guilt of each accused will be determined by the court. At the present time, we have enough evidence to indict them for embezzlement.

Due to the necessity to protect the secrets of investigation, I would refrain from a more detailed discussion of this case. But I must stress that Manucharov and his accomplices were making money on people's grief by stealing expensive construction materials and receiving bribes for the installation of tombstones.

#### **Official on Efforts To Curb Armenian Leadership Special Privileges**

18300070a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY  
in Russian No 40, 1-7 Oct 88 pp 4-5

[Interview with G. Vartanyan, administrator of affairs of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent G. Valyuzhenich under the rubric of "In the Light of Glasnost": "The Doors Have Been Thrown Open"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The cleansing process which has been started in our society involves not only exposing individuals who have abused their power. The essence of it lies much deeper.

This was the subject of a conversation which our correspondent, G. Valyuzhenich, had with G. Vartanyan, administrator of affairs of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

[Valyuzhenich] Grachik Yegishevich, the Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSS Council of Ministers have adopted a decree "Concerning the Transfer by the Armenian SSR Ministries of Health and Social Welfare of Dachas, Reception Houses and Cottages by the Administration of Affairs of the Republic's Council of Ministers." What prompted this decision?

[Vartanyan] Above all, the policy of renewing and cleansing our society, which was adopted after the April plenum. It was also prompted by the movement which was started to confirm the principles of social justice; in our republic this movement increased sharply when the leadership came to power.

Also, it is necessary to recognize honestly that these facilities were utilized only two or three months a year; the rest of the time they sat empty. When the republic obviously did not have enough recreation and treatment facilities for the working people, that kind of situation could not be justified. The desire to live more modestly is by no means a flaw; the presence of extreme luxuries frequently brings with it sad consequences, erecting a wall of alienation between the leadership and the people.

The difficulties which the people are still experiencing must be shared by their leaders. Then they will be overcome more easily.

[Valyuzhenich] How many facilities have been handed over already and specifically how will they be utilized?

[Vartanyan] All government dachas and reception houses in the cities of Dilizhane and Dzhermuk have been put at the disposal of the Ministry of Health for the purpose of providing recreation and treatment for party and labor veterans. Additionally, in Dilizhan, one pension has been handed over to the House of Pioneers, and a children's art education center will be established on the land of 15 old government dachas, which in the last three or four years were used for the recreation of first secretaries.

In Idzhevan one boarding facility has been handed over to a children's sanatorium. It can accommodate more than 100 children.

On Lake Sevan four newly-built cottages of the fourth administration were handed over to the Ministry of Health and to the republic's children fund for the recreation and treatment of orphans.

In Tsakhkadzor a reception house was given to a municipal clinic. In the Ashtarakskiy Rayon a reception house was handed over to the health care organs for a rehabilitation department, and in Goris one was handed over to a children's treatment and convalescent institution.

In Yerevan plans call for a children's rehabilitation center to be located in five guest houses. One boarding facility is now being occupied by families who have come from Sumgait.

In addition, a residential building designed for employees of the Council of Ministers has been handed over to the health care organs, and a stomatology clinic will be located there.

[Valyuzhenich] Excuse me for interrupting you. Are you really not in need of living space? I had occasion to visit the home of a high official of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and I must say that I did not see excessive comfort there. An ordinary building, which

did not even have a garbage chute, a three-room apartment on the fifth floor... In addition, I have heard here, in Yerevan, that S. Arutyunyan, the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, lives in rather cramped conditions.

[Vartanyan] Yes, that is so. For those of us in the apparatus the housing problem is still quite acute. There are people who have been on a waiting list to improve their housing since 1979. Incidentally, I would note that the grounds for getting on the waiting list at the Council of Ministers are the same as for all Yerevan residents, i.e., five-six square meters per person.

As for the residential building which has been handed over, construction of it was started as long ago as 1980, and the norms for housing were raised substantially there. We decided that it would be right to refuse it and turn it over to a treatment institution.

[Valyuzhenich] The reception houses have been turned over for social needs, so where are you planning to receive official guests?

[Vartanyan] Yerevan has good hotels, in particular the "Razdan."

[Valyuzhenich] But unfortunately, in our hotels, even in the best, the level of comfort and service is sometimes not very high. And, after all, you do receive delegations and representatives from various countries of the world. And one does not want to "fall face down in the mud" in front of them.

[Vartanyan] For receiving guests at the level of Central Committee Politburo members from the socialist countries and foreign guests the system of the fourth administration still has the reception house in Sevan and the Administration of Affairs system of the Council of Ministers has one in Yerevan.

[Valyuzhenich] You have refused not only guest houses, but also boarding facilities and cottages designed for staff members of the Council of Ministers. And this is at a time when many agencies are attempting to expand the recreation and treatment facilities which they provide for their staff as a manifestation of concern for their health. In this case where will your staff members get their recreation?

[Vartanyan] For this purpose we still have our system of dachas, which accommodate 300 families; our system includes state dachas and boarding facilities.

They will now be used year round. Party and soviet workers will use them for two-three months, and the rest of the time passes to stay there will be distributed through industrial enterprises, institutions and other organizations.



I would like to add to what was already said that we consider the transfer of government dachas, boarding houses and cottages to be a permanent process. At present, for example, a plan is being drawn up to make those administrative premises vacated as a result of the downsizing of the management apparatus available to meet social needs.

[Valyuzhenich] Grachik Yegishevich, it is part of your job to know about all of the benefits and privileges which your colleagues enjoy. Could you not tell us about "these secrets?" Sometimes rumors which are born out of ignorance of the true state of affairs remind us of a snow ball. Do you have the so-called "closed distribution points," where, as some of our readers claim, the prices for goods are kept at prewar levels? Do you receive a food subsidy?

[Vartanyan] Employees of the republic Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers do not receive a food subsidy. We receive supplies through the cafeteria on the basis of orders which we place. By the way, you can come have lunch with me and verify that the prices in the cafeteria are the usual ones. Before holidays, it is true, the orders include products in short supply, as is probably the case at many enterprises and institutions.

[Valyuzhenich] Tell me please, how much do the staff members of the Council of Ministers earn?

[Vartanyan] The average wage is 200 rubles. But to be more specific, an adviser receives 150-200 rubles; a senior adviser receives 160-230 rubles; and a department chief receives 280-300 rubles. My salary is 430 rubles, and my deputies receive 300 rubles. The chairman of the Council of Ministers receives 650 rubles, and his deputies receive 530 rubles.

[Valyuzhenich] Are your workers provided with free sanatorium passes?

[Vartanyan] We do not have free passes. We pay 30 percent of the cost. The minister, for example, has a right to two passes, for himself and his wife (50 percent of cost).

The passes are issued to everyone in the apparatus every year; after all, our work is very pressured. When leaving for vacation everyone receives a treatment voucher worth a month's salary. We have a "thirteenth" paycheck. That's about it for benefits.

[Valyuzhenich] Right now we are writing and talking a great deal about fairness, while the idea of equality seems to have lost its urgency. This is possibly because some people interpret it rather primitively, thinking it the same thing as levelling. At the same time many of our readers, recognizing, for example, that the minister's

labor is hard and responsible, think that he should receive a large monetary reward, but pay for all benefits out of his own pocket. What is your attitude toward this understanding of equality?

[Vartanyan] I agree with the opinion of your readers. In my view this is correct in principle. This kind of equality is the basis of justice.

In addition, the lack of non-monetary benefits will make it possible for officials of associations, ministries and agencies to be closer to the people, to visit stores, to ride on public transportation. When they become well acquainted with the "sore spots," they will eliminate them more quickly. Everyone knows that some of our officials know about the problems of the city and the region only through reports and memos from their own assistants and secretaries...But such officials are extremely few in number. And on the same subject, the number of personal cars operated by the ministries and departments of our republic has been reduced by 40 percent.

[Valyuzhenich] What in your opinion serves as a guarantee that justice will be strengthened in our society and that such phenomena as bribery, corruption and malfeasance will be overcome?

[Vartanyan] Above all, glasnost. It increases people's civic awareness. It creates public opinion—that same "control from below" which is essential for a democratic society. Any party or soviet leader, if he has done something wrong, may fall under the gun of public criticism, and this is probably worse than a prison sentence.

Public opinion influences the selection and assignment of personnel. Previously it was very simple, let us say, to appoint a director of a plant, but now, when this has to be done, everything is carefully weighed, thought out, the situation is evaluated, and public opinion is taken into account. And if the candidate has no authority among the people, it is useless to appoint him.

All this forces us, the leaders, to take a stricter approach to ourselves and our immediate obligations.

In addition, the people raise social issues which sometimes are not visible to us; they demand solutions and monitor their fulfillment. For example, the workers raised the issue of closing the Kauchuk-1 (Rubber) Plant, which was polluting the air because it was using an old manufacturing process. This demand forced the accelerated introduction of a new waste-free manufacturing process at the Kauchuk-2 Plant imeni Kirov and the closure of the old enterprise. This is not an isolated example.

**Armenian Officials Hold Joint Meeting To Review Anti-Crime Efforts**  
18300070b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
20 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric of "In the Armenian SSR Public Prosecutor's Office": "The Protection of Law and Order Is Everyone's Concern"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Today the entire work of the republic organs for the protection of the law is subordinated to the tasks involved in the active implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. What are the results of the work being carried out to stabilize the situation? What measures are being taken to increase the struggle against theft, bribery, speculation and other selfish crimes? What is being done to ensure the fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet ukase concerning the procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches and demonstrations in the USSR and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase concerning responsibility for violations of this procedure. This was the subject of a serious discussion at a joint meeting of officials from the organs for the protection of the law, which took place under the chairmanship of S. Osipyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Public Prosecutor's Office.

Having analyzed and critically evaluated the state of the struggle against crime, the meeting's participants noted that despite a noticeable reduction (of 24.1 percent) in the number of crimes committed in the last seven months, the organs for the protection of the law are not ensuring an effective struggle against legal infractions in the socio-economic sphere, or other encroachments against the interests of the state and constitutional rights of citizens. During this period the number of serious crimes in certain categories increased, as did the theft of citizen's personal property. The success rate for the solution of these crimes is low. A decisive shift has not taken place in the struggle against drunkenness, drug addiction and parasitism. It should be noted that a significant number of people who have committed serious crimes against a person are involved in drunkenness and drug addiction, or are not engaged in socially useful labor. One-fifth of all crimes are committed by people against whom criminal proceedings have been brought in the past, which is largely explained by the poor campaign against recidivism, by serious omissions in the preventive work carried out by the organs of internal affairs and by inadequacies in the supervision exercised by the public prosecutor.

At the joint meeting it was emphasized that the past months of the current year, which were associated with the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and the surrounding area, were a serious test for the workers of the organs for the protection of the law. In this regard it was noted directly that under the extreme conditions the organs for the protection of the law frequently proved to be slow

and and indecisive in taking the necessary measures; they did not always bring to justice in time the instigators and other persons who had committed illegal actions, as required by the law. Events in the Zvartnots Airport, as was noted at the meeting, showed with complete clarity that the organs of internal affairs and the public prosecutor must not delay in judging a situation in order to ensure that a worsening of that situation or an explosion of negative, anti-social manifestations are not overlooked. The instances of anti-social manifestations, which were unanimously condemned by public opinion in the republic, were the basis for the criminal proceedings which have been started by the public prosecutor; an investigation is being carried out.

In the republic such dangerous crimes as the theft of socialist property, bribery and speculation have put down deep roots; A. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke about this with urgency and a sense of principle, in a speech to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and in other speeches which he has made.

Many avenues of theft have still not been blocked off; a reliable barrier has not been established against people who commit extortion, while living on non-labor incomes and flaunting the principles of social justice. In this struggle serious errors continue to be made, and sometimes there are failures in the work of the monitoring organs, and the BKhSS (Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation) services. These organs have not restructured their work involving the discovery of corrupt elements, masked groups of thieves, bribe takers and speculators. In turn supervision by the prosecutor's office has little influence on the enforcement of the law concerning the struggle against mercenary crimes. In this regard it was emphasized how important it is to coordinate the efforts of the organs for the protection of the law, the monitoring organs, the public organizations and labor collectives.

As the leaders of the organs for the protection of the law emphasized, they consider that their main task is to make the the struggle against bribery, corruption, theft and other forms of misconduct and the extraction of non-labor incomes a priority area in their work.

It was noted that the positive changes which have recently taken place in the republic are creating favorable conditions for raising to a qualitatively new level the work of the organs for the protection of the law with the aim of ensuring that all their activity is directed at the resolution of the fundamental questions of strengthening law and order.

Emphasis was put on the need to ensure the unwavering fulfillment of the recently-adopted USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase on the procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches and demonstration in the USSR and the ukase of the

republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning responsibility for the violation of this procedure. The actions of the organs for the protection of the law under conditions of perestroika must become an integral part of the measures taken by the party organs to strengthen discipline and organization.

It is a top-priority task to satisfy more fully the working people's growing interest in the positive changes taking place in the republic and in the process of strengthening socialist law and order, as well as to continuously inform the public about the performance of the organs for the protection of the law with regard to their fulfillment of the functions entrusted to them.

The meeting demanded that city and rayon officials of the organs for the protection of the law take into account the situation which has developed and adopt without delay additional measures to step up the struggle against crime, to eliminate decisively the manifestations of stagnation in their work, and to develop initiative and an active stance.

The following people took part in the work of the joint meeting: U. Arutyunyan, minister of internal affairs; A. Dadayan, minister of justice; G. Malevosyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court; Yu. Aleksandrov, first deputy chairman of the KGB, and other senior officials of the republic's organs for the protection of the law.

#### **Soviet Women's Council Appeals to Armenian, Azerbaijani Women**

18300164 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
16 Oct 88 p 2

[Unattributed report entitled: "Participants in the Soviet Women's Council Plenum Appeal to the Women of Armenia and Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Women of Armenia! Women of Azerbaijan! Dear friends! Sisters! We, representatives of the different peoples of our multinational homeland, appeal to you. For how many months now every report from your republics has filled us with pain and alarm.

During the most difficult years of our common history, friendship, support and faith in one another has helped us to endure and to be victorious. Why today, when so much hope springs from the heart, have two sister nationalities ceased to hear or to understand each other and forgotten their responsibility to the entire country?..

The Caucasus has always held sacred the traditions of its ancestors. The person who entered another's house and dared to destroy someone's home has earned our curses and has disgraced his name forever.

For centuries in the Caucasus, the strength of the man and the majestic nobility of the woman who knows how to control that strength have been valued above all else.

Today, we appeal to your wisdom and your dignity!

If peace and mutual understanding reign in the hearts and minds of your people—and we believe this will happen—then all of the seemingly insoluble problems certainly will be resolved: new housing blocks, hospitals and cultural centers will spring up, radio and television broadcasts will be heard in your native language, and the air of your cities will be clean.

Mothers of Armenia! Mothers of Azerbaijan! We know how severely you suffer because of what is happening in your land.

We understand how difficult it is under those conditions not to lose one's head and yield to the emotion of provocative slogans.

But you are mothers, answerable for the future of your own people!

Think of what these terrible days of suspicion, mistrust, humiliation and outrage do to your children—to their health, their character and their fate.

Thousands of children in your republics are born of mixed marriages. Who will take upon himself the gloomy task of choosing from which parent a son or daughter will be torn and to which he or she will be given; whose home will be deprived of them?..

For the sake of your children, do everything to get off this road to ruin.

People whose roots have long since intertwined cannot be torn apart and isolated from each other.

One sun brightens the scenic canvases of your artists. The melodies of your songs flow one into the other.

Women of Azerbaijan! Women of Armenia! Friends! Sisters! There are only two feelings in the world which know no bounds—love and hate: but where love is clear eyed, generous and constructive, hate is blind and destructive. Do not permit hatred to spread across your land.

You are women, givers of life. It is you who have protected and nursed your children for centuries, ready at any moment to shield and protect hearth and home from adversity and danger. Today, our words are for you!



**KOMSOMOLETS Reports Mob Attack on Armenian Train, Engineers in Nakhichevan**  
*18300189a Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian*  
26 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Train Came to a Stop"; article includes photo of the damaged locomotive]

[Text] Thousands of Yerevanites witnessed the arrival of a heavily damaged locomotive (VL 8-346) at the Yerevan station. Our correspondents met with V. Shirinyan, the senior commissioner of the railway line's Internal Affairs Department's (LOVD) Criminal Investigation Section, who is conducting an inquiry into this case, at the Yerevan marshalling yard. This is what he reported:

On 21 November 1988, due to the strained situation at Norashen station of the Azerbaijan Railroad (Nakhichevan ASSR), the receiving of freight trains arriving from the Masis station and the Yerevan station of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railroad (ZKVVZhD), was suspended. The trains laid over at the Yerashk, Ararat, Aygevan, and Artashat stations. On the same day, passenger train 676, which was travelling the Baku-Yerevan route, was detained at the Norashen station. After a delay of more than 12 hours, the train was sent back to Baku. On the return trip, the passengers, including tourists of various nationalities and individuals of Armenian nationality, were taken off the train at the Megri station and on 22 November, they were taken to Yerevan on buses. On this day, even the train from Kafan did not arrive in the capital. Service along this route is currently suspended because the safety of passengers and locomotive crews cannot be guaranteed.

The following case occurred on 22 November. Stepa Bagdasaryan, locomotive-driver along with Vruyr Markosyan, locomotive-driver's helper, were driving an "express" freight train from the Yerashk station. After arriving at the Norashen station and possessing the task of taking a complement of tanker cars away from the station, they noticed a large crowd of people in the vicinity of the station. Two station workers warned the locomotive-driver about the aggressive intentions of the crowd and suggested to the crew from Yerevan to wait in the depot until the crowd dispersed. After three hours, the locomotive crew, accompanied by a militia worker, attempted to leave the station with the tanker cars which had been hooked up to their locomotive. However, the crowd, which was being instigated by the actions of a certain individual and which once again suddenly appeared on the railway bed and blocked the locomotive's way, began to throw stones, metal spikes, wheel chocks, etc. at it. Threats were directed toward the locomotive-drivers, in particular, cries of "Kill the locomotive-drivers". Since a real threat to their lives existed, the locomotive-driver had to drop down to the floor of the cab and in this position move the locomotive from its place. However, fearing a collision, Bagdasaryan stood up halfway in order to see the track bed. At that time he was also hit in the head with a stone. Before losing

consciousness, Bagdasaryan had time to tell his helper: "Do not run over the people"... V. Markosyan, the young locomotive-driver's helper who was in a state of nervous stress, drove the locomotive. Suffice it to say that after the incident, Vruyr was not able to speak for 24 hours...

Bagdasaryan, the locomotive-driver, is currently in an Ararat hospital. His injury is not life-threatening. While omitting many details, I would like to note the fact that in the crowd, which committed these outrages at the locomotive, there were also individuals who were armed with metal rods, knives, etc.

As E. Amiryan, the deputy prosecutor for the Armenian Transportation Agency, reported to us, a criminal case has been opened by the prosecutor's office of the Armenian Transportation Agency and a preliminary investigation into this case is being conducted.

**Refugees in Yerevan Recount Reasons for Fleeing Baku**  
*18300189b Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian*  
26 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by R. Karagezyan, B. Kyufaryan, and A. Shakhbazyan, Armenpress correspondents: "Eyewitness Accounts of the Events"]

[Text] The building of the republic's State Agroindustrial Committee is not only known for the fact that it is the headquarters for developing agriculture in Armenia. The government commission for the reception and placement of our fellow countrymen, who were victims in the maelstrom of the Karabakh events, is located there. Hundreds of Armenians from Baku and the populated areas adjacent to it have been added to the numerous refugees from Sumgait. The commission members who are involved with refugee problems are working under a burden all day long. We saw elderly people, newly-married couples, college students, and children in the line. All of them, as it turned out, were born and grew up there, worked in peace with the Azerbaijanians, and know the Azerbaijani language better than their own and Russian.

There is a simple answer to the question of why they abandoned their native home—the stormy events, which were taking place in Baku in recent days, contributed to this. The people, who have arrived here, relate: the terror of the Sumgait tragedy was intensified because of the endless mass meetings and the nightly street processions with calls for physical violence against the Armenians and especially their children, who were afraid to go to school where they were beaten unmercifully. They show letters addressed to Armenians, which were found in their mailboxes. The letters are written in children's handwriting, with threats and abusive language and they essentially express the thoughts of adults and demand the Armenian population's immediate departure from the republic.

From discussions with refugees and from their statements, a picture is taking shape of the distressing atmosphere, which currently reigns in Baku, where it was thought that strong international traditions existed. But, as it turns out, representatives of various nationalities are now forced to write and converse solely in the Azerbaijani language and they are being coerced into leaving their jobs and being deprived of their livelihoods.

According to the testimony of many, not only the Armenians are leaving Baku, but also their friends—Russians, Jews, and other natives of this city.

S. Petrosyan, a university graduate, stated,—The many-voiced threats of vengeance and violence ring in our ears. You see, it began in this manner in Sumgait. We spent so many sleepless nights and being prepared for any provocation, we put our children to bed with their clothes on. In the spring, I had to prepare to defend my thesis. We drove to Georgievsk, in Stavropol Kray and I wrote my thesis there. But my instructor in Baku did not even begin to review it and he did not come to the state review board. Somehow I passed, but my girlfriend, also an Armenian and an honor student for all five years, "was fleeced". One Armenian instructor remained in the entire university and that is because he really is a first-rate expert in scientific communism. Understand that when blatant jingoistic intoxication is added to mental pressure and when you can be insulted and beaten unmercifully just because you said something in your native language, this is a perverted state of human nature. It is downright painful to leave one's native parts and it is difficult to resign ourselves to the idea that we have become refugees in a Soviet country, where so much is done for people. My father devoted 43 years to the "Azerbaijan Power Supply System" amalgamation and now he has been fired without even a second thought.

R. Nersesyan joins in the conversation,—I was a head welder at the "Transcaucasus Pipe Manufacturing Plant". In our collective there were people of ten different nationalities and the native inhabitants were even in the minority. But then, as if on command, they started laying us off and cutting back in the payment of bonuses. And later—there were even direct threats. I left, right now I am in Yerevan. But my family and I would like to take out a loan to build a house with a parcel of land in Abovyan rayon, where I will work. They say this opportunity exists for refugees who came from Sumgait. Maybe it will also be extended to the refugees from Baku.

Grigoriy Grigoryan, a taxi-driver from Baku:

I was born and lived all my life in Baku. One day a foursome got into my taxi. On the way to the railway station they began to curse Armenians. I remained silent. Then they asked me: "What is your nationality?". I answered that this should not make any difference to passengers. They began to insist upon an answer and declared that since I did not answer it means I am

Armenian. And here a fight started in the taxi. The passenger sitting next to me punched me and the passenger behind me tried to stab me with a knife. I stopped the car, jumped out, and demanded that they get out of the vehicle. The fellow armed with the knife got out and once again attempted to stab me. Luckily, I managed to grab the handle. The militiamen, who came upon the uproar, took us all in to the rayon militia office. At the militia office they stated to me: "You are killing Azerbaijanians there in Armenia, here they still mess around with you. Go back to the garage and we will sort this out with the passengers". I did not have time to drive away before my passengers came out of the militia office with smiles on their faces. It turns out, they received the right to commit further crimes.

A similar attempt was made against the life of my fellow worker, who was forced to depart to Krasnodar. It can no longer be concealed that Armenians in Azerbaijan are being oppressed in every way possible and their lives are in danger.

But our stories should not become the cause for stirring up emotions nor the displaying of any sort of conduct, which would cast a shadow over our Armenian nation and the people's spirit of internationalism. I am making an earnest appeal not to give in to any sort of provocations.

No one will succeed in staining the conscience of our nation, which advocates peace and justice at all times.

G. Grigoryan is right. And it is sad that in some places individual hotheads and instigators have resorted to steps, which can only have a prejudicial influence and run counter to the steadfast resolution of our nation not to resort to acts of violence because of national animosity. It is true that radical Azerbaijanian nationalistic and hoodlum-like elements attacked a train in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. But this does not by any means presuppose similar retaliatory actions. We do not have the right to permit any acts which are incompatible with the civilized character of our nation.

The Armenian government has passed a special resolution concerning the reception and job placement of refugees from Azerbaijan. They are being placed in boarding houses, hostels, and hotels. 1.7 million rubles has been allocated for rendering primary assistance. Voluntary contributions from work collectives, public organizations, and private citizens are being sent to the commission's existing account.

The stream of refugees continues and there is every indication that within the next few days it will increase.

### Armenian Legal Experts Comment on Aspects of Sumgait Trial

18300192 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
15 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by M. Grigoryan, deputy dean of the juridical faculty of Yerevan State University and docent, and G. Kazinyan, docent: "Position"]

[Text] We were in Moscow from 24 October to 4 November attending sessions of the Criminal Division of the USSR Supreme Court on one of the separate proceedings in the Sumgait case. There is no need to look again (for the umpteenth time) at the details of this case, which are set forth in 100 (!) pages of the indictment and described in sufficient detail, but alas not always competently from a juridical standpoint, in our republic's periodical press (and with rare exceptions, unfortunately, only in the republic press).

What we personally saw and heard needs to be understood and gives abundant food for thought, which we want to share with the readers. It is possible that readers today will see a biased attitude or a subjective approach in our evaluation of the events, but this does not deprive us of the right to our own independent judgment. The duty of a citizen and the duty of an attorney obligate us to be objective and we will try to meet this demand fully.

In the last eight months, and they have been long months, the population of the republic (but not only the republic) has been upset and the people's thoughts have been preoccupied with the word "genocide". It is even used frequently in the halls of the impressive building at No 15 Vorovskaya Street, the building of the USSR Supreme Court.

The progress of the judicial investigation is gradually but inexorably disclosing facts that prove beyond dispute that the Sumgait crimes were committed exclusively on a nationality basis. No one present at the proceeding any longer has any doubt about this. Therefore, we must speak of an act of organized genocide against the Armenian population of the city of Sumgait in the Azerbaijan SSR. Accountability for genocide as a crime that violates the norms of international law and contradicts the spirit and goals of the United Nations, and is condemned by the civilized world, is envisioned in the international Convention of Preventing the Crime of Genocide and Punishment for It, dated 9 October 1948. The Convention was ratified by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 3 May 1954. More than 80 states have ratified the Convention or joined it. But to the present day the principles of the Convention have not been included in Soviet criminal law. Thus, Soviet criminal law does not have a special norm on accountability for genocide. This formally deprives the Criminal Division of USSR Supreme Court of the possibility of defining the crimes committed in this respect, although, in our opinion, the court has no doubt that all the elements of the crime of genocide are present. By our observations, however, the

court at present does not consider the need for a political evaluation of these crimes as part of its task, even though the truth demands that it be recognized that the court is steadily (possibly without itself desiring to do so) revealing the true motives for instances of vandalism and primitive barbarity that are unheard of for our life and for the truly civilized world in general.

Nonetheless, in its verdict on the case the highest court of our country cannot and should not avoid a political definition of the events when evaluating the social danger of the entire set of crimes. Social danger here means the dangerous quality of the crime for socialist social relations. On this level the political definition rounds out the overall evaluation of social danger and makes it all-embracing. But there is an unknown but palpable atmosphere at the proceeding that without a word seems to counteract the processes of legal justice and prevents the court from "overstepping" the bounds of this highly unusual criminal case. It is clear that the simple, but obviously naive and incorrect position that there is no inter-ethnic problem in our country is involved here. It appears that the foundations of the old "petrified" approaches and reasoning are still quite strong.

In line with this we would like to return to the question of motives of the crimes. For the instances under consideration the crimes committed in Sumgait have been officially defined as murder from hooligan motives (and in company, with massive disorders). Hooligan motives were, of course, present to some degree (to completely deny them would cancel one of the aggravating circumstances and mechanically "lighten" the guilt of the defendants), but they were not the determining motives and do not characterize the sense and meaning of the criminal actions that were committed. Inter-ethnic relations were the primary motives. The court should understand that even a gang of hooligans will not simply go into an uncontrollable rage and start stabbing and burning people, destroying property, disconnecting telephones, and so on. These people were killed only because they were Armenians.

If we evaluate things from the standpoint of a commonplace, complex, but nonetheless ordinary criminal case, the proceeding is being conducted in strict accordance with the norms of criminal procedure and chairman R. K. Brize is very experienced, has excellent professional qualities, and is sufficiently demanding of all participants in the proceeding. All the same, it seems that the judicial investigation is not always being done deeply and comprehensively enough, which can be explained by certain objective and subjective factors. Above all, in our opinion, the preliminary investigation of the case was done in a superficial and incomplete manner. The investigators, in a rush to satisfy the demands of public opinion, conducted the preliminary investigation and transmittal of the case to court too quickly. For this reason many facts that are very important for the case were not disclosed and large number of people who



participated in the mass disorders were not identified. These unidentified persons figure in the indictment and the process of the court investigation as persons not implicated in the case.

Elementary legal logic suggests that mass disorders (article 71 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR and Article 74 of the Criminal Code of the Armenian SSR) presuppose that a large number of people took direct part in them. According to the testimony of witnesses and victims in block 41A of the city of Sumgait 200-300 persons participated in the mass disorders, pogroms, and other crimes, and of them 15-20 persons definitely committed crimes. But there are only three defendants: A. Akhmedov, R. Ismailov, and Ya. Dzha-farov. So where are the others? All the statements by official law enforcement organs and in court to the effect that they are possibly involved in other criminal cases are unfounded and do not inspire trust because they are completely indefinite.

The Criminal Division of the USSR Supreme Court is not always able to fill in the gaps and omissions in the preliminary investigation. If we add to this that a single criminal case has been artificially broken down into separate proceedings, then the difficulty of the court's job of fully, objectively, and comprehensively investigating the matter, identifying all guilty persons, and seeing that they receive just punishment will be more apparent.

The indictment for this proceeding of the single Sumgait case states: "Because of the large volume of investigative material and the large number of persons who took part in the mass disorders, the criminal case is being broken down into a number of independent proceedings." State prosecutor V. Kozlovskiy on 2 November 1988 at a session of the court explained that the "case of the three defendants has been singled out because it is impossible to review the cases of 100 persons in a single proceeding." Those are not very convincing arguments, are they? Is the supreme legal organ of the USSR really unable to surmount such technical inconveniences? In our opinion, the reason is something else, specifically a fear of political evaluation and the corresponding publicity. For analogy it is enough to point out that in the case of the criminal Cattani gang in Sicily (Italy) there were 198 defendants (the Central Television broadcast "Vremya" on 6 November 1988).

Artificially breaking the case down into a number of independent proceedings also has other negative consequences. In the process of such a breakdown (and this can already be traced clearly in the court investigation) details which are very significant for the case are inevitably "lost". We should add that according to the official report of the USSR Procuracy the preliminary investigation of crimes that occurred in block 41A of the city of Sumgait is continuing. This illustrates once more the unnecessary haste of the preliminary investigating organs and the impropriety of breaking a single case down into independent proceedings. Crimes that were

organized and planned in advance and were based on inter-ethnic relations have been artificially broken down into separate cases, and this has removed the overall definition of everything that was done, which in turn automatically diminishes the state and social danger. But our presence at the proceeding led us to the conviction that these crimes were indeed organized and planned in advance. The testimony of a number of witnesses can be given to confirm this (Azimov, Ilyasov, Takmazov, and others). The USSR Procuracy takes a different position, and the Criminal Division is in fact following it at present. The procuracy's report points out that the investigation initially suggested that the crimes in Sumgait were organized and planned in advance, but this was not confirmed subsequently. This conclusion flatly contradicts the evidence given in court.

P. I. Shaposhnikova and R. V. Rshtuni, members of the defense bar of the Armenian SSR and representatives of the victims, will have to apply considerable effort, given the limits of the procedural opportunities they have been granted, to get the court to recognize the organized character of the crimes that took place and to establish a connection between particular episodes (proceedings) in the overall chain of crimes. They have both adequate professional skills and appropriate experience to meet this challenge.

So the above confirms the need to send the case out for additional investigation. In our opinion, there are three significant grounds for this.

1. For a full and comprehensive disclosure of the crimes and identification of all guilty persons it is essential to join, if not all, then at least the cases connected with events in block 41A in the city of Sumgait.
2. Identification of the true organizers and instigators of the mass disorders, pogroms, homicides, and other crimes.
3. The need to submit a supplementary indictment.

Many people involved in the case, in particular A. Akhmedov, in the process of the mass disorders and pogroms, committed actions that fall within the definition of the crime envisioned by Article 67 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR (violation of national and racial equality). In fact this person made appeals whose purpose was to inspire national hatred. He called on persons assembled at a demonstration and during the pogroms to take revenge on citizens of Armenian nationality (see pages 3, 6, and 11 and others of the indictment). Nonetheless, the official determination of crimes does not register this fact, and the action is not imputed to the subject of the crime, although the fact of officially acknowledging it has great criminal law and political significance. Such an acknowledgment would also help identify the true causes and conditions of commission of the crimes.

According to our information lawyers P. L. Shaposnikova and R. V. Rshtuni, the representatives of the victims, have prepared a petition of approximately this content.

So we are left to wait for results, but not to be idle. The fight for justice is always difficult. It requires patience, methodical action, and persistence. We must overcome a mighty enemy—public indifference in the broad sense of the word. On this level it seems necessary to address a critical word to legal science. Lawyer Ruben Saakyan is deeply correct when he observes that Soviet legal science is obliged to find in itself the moral strength to ensure a comprehensive and complete investigation and interpretation of the "Sumgait" category and to give it an adequate evaluation, if for no other reason than to see that "Sumgait" remains a single, unprecedented example in the history of our legal procedure (KOMMUNIST, 30 OCTOBER 1988).

In conclusion we would like to express this idea. According to existing law criminal cases are within the jurisdiction, that is heard by, the courts at the place where the crime was committed. However it seems that, considering the exceptional importance of the criminal case and its special political significance, the USSR Supreme Court guided by Paragraph 1 Article 27 of the Law on the USSR Supreme Soviet, should accept the cases linked to the events in Sumgait for handling itself.

#### Armenian Journalist Compares Sumgait Tragedy to Armenian Genocide

18300192b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
2 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Armen Oganessian: "Watershed"]

[Text] Just recently the publicist and translator Armen Oganessian published an article entitled "I Wish This Nightmare Was Over" in the Armenian-language city newspaper YEREKOYAN YEREVAN. Following numerous requests by readers of our newspaper we are today publishing a version of this article, somewhat modified and shortened by author himself, under a new title. The author of the article was present in Moscow at the sessions of court where the case of the Sumgait pogrom was heard.

At first the fragmentary information about the last 3 days of February followed by the statements, which were like mad ravings, of refugees who witnessed the events, adding on ominous and terrifying details, left everyone completely prostrate. The seemingly implausible and incomprehensible dimensions and methods of the nightmare and the enormous number of murderers and victims superimposed on official reports with their distortions and omissions and the complete lack of information opened up an abyss which we can tentatively call the Sumgait watershed.

Before Sumgait and after Sumgait.

Whereas before Sumgait many people had tightly shut their eyes, many people were mentally indifferent and complacent at heart, after Sumgait the alarming question was heard: Has nothing changed? Has nothing changed since 1895, 1915, and 1920? In early March an Azerbaijani writer was smiling on Central Television and talking about friendship among peoples, and a few days later left for Accra as head of an official delegation.

It was announced that no one would escape punishment. And then there were the 90 defendants, young people and adolescents, mostly arrested on the last day. According to official information published in the press 26 Armenians were killed, more than 400 received bodily injuries of varying degrees of seriousness, more than 200 apartments were burned, hundreds of buildings were plundered, more than 50 cultural-domestic sites were damaged, and more than 40 motor vehicles were destroyed, some of them burned. The loss to the state was more than 7 million rubles.

Completely natural indignation arises: How could it happen that 90 green youngsters in a matter of 3 days devastated entire blocks, raped, burned, killed, stole, and looted, like diligent students copying old and familiar methods? After all, there were several militia men in the city for each arrestee, and we can add the military units and equipment brought into the city on the second day. It was officially recorded that members of the Sumgait militia will be brought to criminal trial. And if this is really true, we think they should not be tried for professional helplessness, for indecision, or even less for negligence, but rather they should be charged for complicity in the pogroms, slaughter, and robbery. There is more than enough evidence that the local militia literally patronized the savage crowds.

I could not help taking down the monograph "Genocide of Armenians in the Osman Empire". Russian Ambassador A. I. Melidov testifies:

"Crowds of Bashibuzuks armed with knives and clubs poured out of various Turkish sections and began attacking everyone they took to be Armenian. The most barbaric beating of defenseless and absolutely innocent Christians began. The police not only remained passive observers of the terrible events that were occurring, but in many cases took part in the killing and robbery. The troops who appeared at the site of the disorders very late also did nothing to stop them."

Newspapers reported that the Sumgait killers were armed with knives, axes, firearms, metal rods sharpened ahead of time and all in the same way, and bottles with incendiary mixtures. Decades ago, in Constantinople, according to an official document, "The bands of killers were armed according to a system worked out in advance, with knives, firearms, kerosene, and special clubs with lead tips of the same type."

All the rapes in the "city of friendship of peoples" were group rapes. The barbarians often left their victims dead. Young girls and old women were raped; tearing the clothing from the tortured and tormented women, they were led through the courtyards and streets and mocked before the entrances to teahouses. In one of the documents of that same monograph it says: "Leader Hadji Bejo showed monstrous cruelty. He ordered the body of one woman cut into four parts and the parts hung on posts for the public to view. On the order of this murderer another woman was undressed and led through the village nude."

There is a monstrous time link, an invisible bridge of succession which shows more eloquently than any evidence that Sumgait did not fall from the skies. This link will become more plain if those who in our days are stubbornly ignoring the fact of genocide would at least look through this monograph. They would look through this and be convinced that the Sumgait nightmare became possible only because the civilized world to this day has not condemned one of the greatest crimes against humanity. It has not condemned it, which means that it has not protected itself against darkness and Hell.

In Moscow, in the USSR Supreme Court building, the trial of Akhmedov, Ismailov, and Dzhabarov continues.

Here is an excerpt from the indictment:

"The group of hooligans led by A. I. Akhmedov, which included Ya. G. Dzhabarov and I. A. Ismailov in addition to undetermined persons, armed with axes, knives, metal pipes, reinforcement rods, stones, and other objects, broke into apartments in which citizens of Armenian nationality lived, broke doors, furniture and other household objects, smashed dishes and window glass, threw property out of the apartments, burned and stole it and by their actions caused major economic loss to every family subjected to attack (a list of 17 apartments in block 41A is given—A. O.). The total sum of economic loss to victims from the pogrom of these apartments was 215,919 rubles. Expenditures to repair these apartments in this connection were 4,904 rubles."

Anticipating the question that immediately arises—who were these other, undetermined persons?—we will cite one more excerpt:

"Hundreds of citizens, mainly of Azerbaijani nationality, took part in the crimes. The pogroms of apartments, burning, beating, raping, and killing was done by groups of raging hooligans. Investigation has identified some of them and they are being brought to criminal trial. Some of these persons have been convicted. Investigation of the criminal activity of these persons continues and will take a long time."

So there is an assurance, but of course, time frames cannot be given.

Another question arises: What was going on with our investigative organs? In the case of an ordinary apartment burglary if even one of the wrongdoers is found, identification of the others is, as the courageous and cunning captains and majors of the movies assure us, just "a matter of technique". But now it has been officially announced that a significant number of the "hooligan elements" were students at vocational-technical schools and desperate criminal elements who were living in unsanitary, unbearable conditions (called "dumps"). So what do we get: before this they did not know each other, and formed into packs only in the last days of February? For three days in a row in broad daylight in the presence of "viewers" hanging from the balconies they committed their crimes. And would it really be very difficult to identify witnesses?

No matter, we will assume that this is an investigative secret and that people who are not involved in legal affairs cannot understand these subtleties and tricky matters. We will agree with this, and we will wait for them to find the hundreds of other criminals. Or more accurately, thousands. Because any person who was a witness and did not attempt to prevent or stop the crime becomes a participant under the law.

And the three criminals in the USSR Supreme Court room to one degree or another renounce their former testimony, deny their guilt or admit it in part, twist words, lie, are exposed in their lies, pretend to be simpletons, and lie again. But the evidence is too powerful, there are too many witnesses, the court has a vast amount of factual material, and retribution seems inevitable.

There is still time for an accurate determination, and in the courtroom the fate of just three of them is being decided.

Three of them. Only three.

A separate case, a small part of the bottomless Sumgait evil, primarily concerned with grave crimes in city block 41A.

There are seven victims: Ar'ash Levonovich Arakenyan, Misha Arsenovich Ambartsumyan, Sogomon Margarovich Melkumyan, Raisa Arsenovna Melkumyan, Irina Sogomonovna Melkumyan, Eduard Sogomovich Melkumyan, Igor Sogomovich Melkumyan.

Any crime, great or small, serious or not so significant, has its causes, motives, and purposes. We will repeat these platitudes and again cite extracts from the indictment:

"Seeing this, Akhmedov ran to A. A. Babayan and, with the intent of murder from hooligan motives, struck him with the axe that he was carrying, attempting to hit his head (the gravely wounded A. Babayan remained alive and was able to take shelter in the entryway of a milk



combine; at this time armored personnel carriers appeared and the criminals fled—A.O.). Akhmedov joined Dzhaferov, Ismailov, and others and began beating A. L. Arakelyan. During this beating of the victim Akhmedov stabbed A. L. Arakelyan in the back with a knife in his possession at that moment with the intent of killing him from hooligan motives. Dzhaferov and Ismailov, using axes that were in their possession, struck A. L. Arakelyan several blows on the head and other parts of the body with the same intent. After commission of the homicide the hooligans burned the body of A. L. Arakelyan. With the intent of committing murder from hooligan motives he (Dzhaferov—A.O.) stabbed A. L. Arakelyan (Asya, the wife of Artash Arakelyan—A.O.) several times in different parts of the body with a knife that was in his possession. Believing that A. T. Arakelyan was dead from the injuries inflicted on her because she gave no signs of life, they threw a rug over her, poured on a flammable liquid, and set it on fire, as a result of which A. T. Arakelyan suffered second and third degree thermal burns of the shoulders and back (I prefer not to present the testimony given in the courtroom by this courageous and unbelievably stalwart woman, who miraculously survived—A.O.). Dzhaferov struck E. D. Merkumyan in the head with an axe with the intent of murder from hooligan motives, and then other persons threw Merkumyan onto a bonfire burning nearby."

And that is how it went, on and on.

The preliminary investigation defined the above actions as follows:

"Akhmedov, Akhmed Imani-Ogly: organization and direct participation in mass disorders accompanied by pogroms, destruction, burning and other such actions; attempted murder of one person from hooligan motives; murder of a second person with special cruelty from hooligan motives; organization of the murder of several persons with special cruelty from hooligan motives, and complicity in their homicide as a person who had earlier committed a murder."

The same definitions were given for Ismailov and Dzhaferov with slight differences. The indictment gives no other determination of motives and intents.

A little later we will see how the leader Akhmedov explains his participation in the events.

But for now let us clarify what "hooliganism" is. According to Soviet criminal law it is a deliberate action that flagrantly violates public order and expresses open disrespect for society. Especially strict responsibilities established for malicious hooliganism (actions distinguished by exceptional cynicism, special audacity, involving resistance to the authorities, and where use of a weapon is done or attempted). Guilty persons are held to administrative accountability for petty hooliganism.

The definition of hooliganism is the same in the criminal codes of all the Union republics. It is not difficult to take these codes and try to squeeze the actions committed by, not the leader, but by Dzhaferov who celebrated his 18th birthday in August, into this definition. Even if you try very hard the definition of "hooligan motives" arouses a condescending smile in outsiders, and with an entire people who have endured more than one slaughter and have put on the bloody altar millions, then tens of thousands, and in our day dozens of victims, it can only arouse rage and fury. The only way it can be called hooliganism is the "circumstance" that, they will say, you see the number of victims is decreasing with time, and because it is distinguished by open cynicism and special audacity. And even in this case it can only be done if you try very hard.

Let us return to Akhmedov. According to his own testimony on 29 February he was on the job until 1400, then he went home. When he reached the intersection of Mir and Diuzhba Streets (what names!) where the motor vehicle terminal is located, he decided to take part in a rally and listened to speakers who said that in Nagornyy Karabakh Azerbaijanis were being killed and women raped. Someone said that a train loaded with dead bodies from Karabakh had arrived at Baladzhar station. All these things were the causes of his participation in the mass disorders. When calls went out in the crowd to take revenge on the Armenians, he grabbed a megaphone from a certain young man and suggested that they go to block 41A and destroy Armenian apartments. Most of the young people responded to this call and the crowd moved forward.

This press operator who was walking home from work and suddenly felt a need for revenge shouted the following words into the megaphone:

"Smash the apartments, but don't take things, destroy them," and "Moslems, point out Armenian apartments" (witness M. Ilyasov), "Death to the Armenians, Armenians will no longer live here" and "You do not know what is being done with our brothers and sisters in Nagornyy Karabakh. What we are doing is nothing" (witness N. Teyubava), "Moslems, point out the Armenians and we will kill them" (witness F. Abbasova), "Hail to Azerbaijan" and "Brothers, they are killing our brothers and sisters in Karabakh and they will kill you too" (witness R. Adilov).

Another witness A. Melikov states that among the people who took Igor and Edik Merkumyan from his apartment after they had hidden there was a young man with a megaphone who came back a little later to apologize for the disturbance and, showing his hands, said that the blood of those Armenians was on them. Witness R. Rzayeva says: "Then this man fell face down. The man with the megaphone hit this man once on the back with

a hatchet. There was blood on the hatchet after he struck so the man with the megaphone wiped it off on the rug which they threw over the man before setting him on fire."

On 21 October during the court session Karina Melkumyan, one of the Melkumyan family wives who became a widow, made the following statement on behalf of all the victims and requested that it be put in the file:

"Respected judges.

"Our grief is great, and our wounds cannot be healed no matter what the upcoming verdict.

"We have lost our loved ones; some of us have lost literally all of them.

"On the defendants bench in front of us and you are three thugs who are trying by every means to avoid their deserved punishment and are conducting themselves in an impudent and challenging way. For us, and for you too it is terrifyingly obvious that even inwardly they do not condemn their vile crimes. On the contrary, they consider themselves victims today, but heroes after the verdict is proclaimed.

"By the progress of the trial it is becoming plain and obvious that three thugs, one of them a juvenile, could not have ravaged, killed, and raped entire blocks, burned homes and corpses, cars, and living people.

"Can it be that you do not wonder where those hundreds of people are, where are the true organizers of this terrible crime not only against Armenians, but against the entire Soviet people and all humanity?

"The Soviet press carried a report of a trial in Brazil where the actions of five thugs which led to killing three Indians were defined as genocide.

"Isn't the killing of peaceful Armenians living in Sumgait genocide? Are you unsure of that? You are highly trained legal specialists who for the first time in your vast experience are encountering such cases of national hatred, vandalism, and bestiality.

"We believe that the highest organ of the Soviet court, than which only the Law is higher, does not have the professional, moral, or human right not to consider our request. Our hope is that the Truth will come out. But the truth is clear to everyone: real genocide was prepared for and carried out in Sumgait, and the three thugs, the three insignificant cogs in the enormous machine are sitting before us and you and lying. They are lying shamelessly and confidently. We insist on an appropriate definition of the crimes and on clarification of the truth.

"The highest judicial organ of our country cannot deal with elementary criminal actions as the episode in the Sumgait tragedy is being represented in this august building. The high court cannot fail to get to the truth and make it known.

"In the name of Truth, in the name of the Law, and in the name of Humanism."

It remains to add that witness E. Dzhaferov, the mother of the criminal Dzhaferov, stated in public in the court that the true organizers were not among the defendants, and that her son was a blind implement in their hands.

Issue No 10 of the monthly magazine VEK XX I MIR for this year published a letter by S. Zolyan, head of the department of Russian language at Yerevan State University, and a commentary on the letter by doctor of economic sciences V. Sheynis.

Among other things, S. Zolyan writes: "What will a future historian say about our society when, digging through packets of newspapers for 1988, he discovers with surprise that the letters, condolences, and indignation at what happened in Sumgait can be found only in personal archives? What will this historian say when he finds out that the Sumgait refugees, the very poorest people, sent money to victims of a railroad disaster in Arzamas, but he will look in vain for any mention in the newspapers of a fund to help the people of Sumgait? We have common troubles and common problems. We all remember G. Baklanov's speech at the 19th Party Congress. I want to repeat his thought, but in a different form: those who preferred to remain silent during the days of Sumgait and who called on others to do the same, those who did not say clearly and precisely where they stood, with the murderer or with the victim—tomorrow they will face the necessity of deciding who they themselves will be, murderer or victim.

V. Sheynis writes: "The significance of the event and the elementary feeling of solidarity demanded a declaration of public mourning (which, incidentally, has been arranged among us in past years for less significant instances). But while the first reaction can still be explained by elementary confusion, it is not possible to understand why the trial of participants in the mass disorders and violent crime (not simply hooliganism) was not given the appropriate publicity and glasnost was somewhat played down. There still has not been an intelligible answer to the question: who should be responsible and how could it happen, nor has there been an explanation why decisive steps were not taken until the third day of the pogrom which developed alongside the capital of Azerbaijan".

It was on that very day when decisive measures were taken, on 29 February, that the savage crimes were committed in block 41A; and the fate of three of the participants is being decided in Moscow.

Many people saw photographs of the Melkumyans, their death certificates and brief descriptions of the killings.

Let us recall once more the calm, noble faces, Sogomon's eyes, Raisa's look which kept order at home, Igor and Edik's proud posture, and Irina's sweet face and barely noticeable smile. How many lecherous looks followed her from her home to Pharmacy No 353 where she worked until her martyred death.

I cannot write here about everything that became clear from the testimony of witnesses, a description of individual killings, and the results of the forensic examination; I cannot write on behalf of anyone. It is not beyond my powers. It is greater than our national, ethical nature. Let the suffering and mental agitation of us, the Armenians, in the courtroom, remain ours, to the end of our days.

To give even a rough picture of this Dante's Inferno, I will cite just one statement. Z. Salamov relates:

"I saw that a woman was being beaten in entryway No 3 of building No 26, where the Armenian's lived. She was a heavy, elderly woman. I did not know that she was the mother of the two Armenian brothers. They brought a man about 40 years old out of entryway No 3. As soon as they brought him out they began hitting him. Then they quickly led him away to the front of the building No 5V and started beating him. After this a young man 23-28 years old came up to the other man who was already lying beaten on the ground, and put a warm cloth over his chest. The man leaped up from the ground, let out a shout, and ran behind building No 2B. I did not see this man any more. Then I saw Irina was being brought out of entryway No 2 of building No 2B. I knew her. The crowd took her to the transformer booth. I could not see what they did with her. When the crowd dispersed and I saw that she was lying on the ground naked and a boy of 14-15 years was beating her on the back with a shovel. He hit her on the back about 5-6 times in a row. Irina got up and waved her arms. They hit her again. Irina fell down again. My father called me home. I do not know how much time it took. But it was already getting dark. When I reached the entryway I saw that Irina was dead. I thought that because she was motionless. Her eyes were open and bloodied. She was in a sitting position. Her back was leaning against a wooden stool which was on fire. There was no longer anyone near Irina."

Six days after the bloodbath a monument to the victims of the new slaughter was erected at a fraternal grave in Stepanakert. On 24 April a Khachkar in Memory and Obligation was conducted on the Hill of Sorrow Tsitsernakaberd in Yerevan. The names of the Melkumyan family should be the first to be written on our monuments, in behalf of their grandchildren who survived by miracle, in behalf of all who survived, in behalf of our security and as a call to vigilance.

Genocide, large and small, majestic monuments and humble ones. Again and again you search for an answer to the question: who were they, these savage crowds in the only city of the Soviet Union which has a museum of friendship among peoples.

Who are these three: former criminals and malicious hooligans? Far from it. The indictment contains information that characterizes the defendants. Here they are.

Akhmed Imani-Ogly Akhmedov studied in a local school, completed the eighth grade, went to a vocational-technical school, was drafted into the Soviet Army in 1982, worked at various enterprises after discharge, and at the moment of his arrest was employed as a senior press operator at a yarn factory. Character references from his places of work and study are positive, and he has no criminal record.

Ismail Azad-Ogly Ismailov studied in a local school, completed the eighth grade, served in the Soviet Army, and at the moment of his arrest was a welder at the Azkhimremont Trust. Character references from his places of work, study, and residence are positive and he has no previous criminal record.

Yavar Giyas-Orly Dzhaferov completed eight grades in school, was studying at a vocational-technical school to become a welder before commission of the crime, and did public work at school. According to character references from the school he was disciplined and active in public life, and he has no prior criminal record.

In general, they are just like other Soviet young people. The indictment does not say, but it is hard to imagine that they were not Komsomol members. They did serve in the army and they had positive character references. Their lives before February in no way fit the definition of "hooligan" or "hardened criminal". They covered themselves with a single "justification": they were taking revenge after being enraged by what they heard at the demonstration, although not even a beast would have done what they did. There are three of them. And what kind of fanatic schooling must one go through to kill, cripple, rape, rob, and burn without any preparation, all an "amateur" level. Is it mysterious? It certainly is not. There were not just rumors about the "Baladzhar train", not just simple mother beating themselves on the chest and calling on their sons over Baku television saying "Balalarym, why are you doing nothing?" and not just public figures and the "actress" in Sumgait and Baku calling for action. The roots of the rabid chauvinism, national hatred, and Armenophobia are much deeper and broader. This is all very well known to us and is unknown only to those who are simplistic or prefer oversimplification.

The latter, if they have even a dim idea of the Bible, have never heard of the Koran at all. But it would not hurt to have at least a superficial familiarity with this main book of Islam which has been published many times in our



country and in the Azerbaijan SSR alone is propagated at more than 400 illegal mosques. The Soviet press has reported this. This book literally calls for killing infidels, and the fifth Sura warns: "Do not take Jews and Christians as friends. And if any of you takes them as friends, that one is one of them."

In our country of freedom of religion where about 10,000 monuments of Christian architecture were destroyed, blown up, and put to use as pig sties and barns, at the same time 1,600 new mosques were built. Perhaps this was because the great murderer, Stalin, feared the threats of the Koran: "Retribution to those who fight against Allah. They will be killed or crucified, or their arms and legs will be cut off."

How do these open calls to violence look alongside existing Soviet laws, which envision punishment for propagation of violence? The slogans of the organizers of the slaughter in 1988 carried a statement from the Koran: "Allah damned the unbelievers and prepared a fire for them." Otherwise would the "hooligan" elements have dared to cut "unbelievers" in quarters and burn people in the "prepared flame"? They would not have dared if they did not possess a blind faith that they would go unpunished, that they were performing a "sacred duty", a higher will.

Otherwise how can we explain the fact that not a single Azerbaijani intellectual, academician, writer, musician, artist, director, or physicist has even intimated a condemnation of the crimes of their countrymen, not even in private letters?!

At a very recent meeting of the Democratic Restructuring Club in Moscow Galina Starovoytova stated that she has information obtained by persistent searching which indicates that five representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia have in one form or another condemned Sumgait. And if we consider this number against the background of the slogans "Freedom to the heroes of Sumgait" at demonstrations in Baku, this number can be considered entirely accurate.

One of those who condemned these misdeeds is Chingiz Guseynov. On 8 August of this year at a briefing entitled "Nagornyy Karabakh and Glasnost", the well-known Azerbaijani writer and doctor of philological sciences said, among other things:

"Of course, this (Sumgait—A.O.) is a shameful page in the history of the Azerbaijani people. That must be admitted. I must say that those who carried out someone else's will were in fact people who had some criminal records, that is, hooligan-type people. As for the trial of the instigators of the Armenian pogrom in Sumgait, our law enforcement organs were somewhat slow and confused. They should have acted immediately, without waiting. The Sumgait tragedy is on the conscience of Azerbaijanis, but at the same time we must note that the

situation is not always used for the purposes of establishing the truth and this is made worse by the fact law enforcement organs are working very slowly."

The prominent writer and scientist who lives in Moscow is correct. Yes, this is a shameful page in the history of the Azerbaijani people and all the peoples of our country. After all, any even slightly civilized person will be sent trembling by the sparse, but deeply tragic lines from the witnesses' testimony:

"Hail Azerbaijan, down with the Armenians!" (Witness S. Mirzoyeva);

"He was surrounded by 15-20 people, and they began to beat him with axes, knives, and sticks. They beat this man about the body and head. Then one of the young men pulled out a burning mattress and covered the man with it." (Witness D. Zerbaliyev);

"He burned all up, right away. Some young guy threw a rag on the fire and ran off". (Witness A. Minasyants);

"They undressed the girl and threw her into the boxes. The girl moved the boxes aside and let out a shout. Then a young man of about 20-22 went up to her. He was carrying a teapot, a white teapot with small flowers. There was gasoline in the teapot. He poured gasoline from the teapot onto the girl and himself set her on fire". (Witness N. Manedov);

"The young man's body was in the fire, but his legs were outside. He was still showing signs of life, and tried to crawl out of the fire, but some young man was holding him there with a piece of reinforcement rod and would not let him do so." (Witness M. Manedov, who is indicted in a different criminal case.);

"Two men dragged a fallen young man toward the bonfire and threw him in. Then some adolescents came up and pushed the body of the young man into the bonfire with sticks." (Witness S. Yenikev);

"I did not see anybody pour gasoline on him, but suddenly the upper part of the young man's body burst into flames. He fell immediately to the ground and began to roll over, apparently wanting to put out the fire, but he quickly fell silent." (Witness I. Baykova).

And after all this how will these Azerbaijani adolescence live? Who are they: "avengers", "hooligans", "criminals"?

It is possible that the court will not answer this question. Its job is to punish. Is the collective conscience of the Azerbaijani people, its intelligentsia, also unprepared to answer? The first thing they must do is answer to themselves. And to their people. We do not need an answer. We know the answer.

It will amount to the wornout "argument" that, supposedly, the powerful people's movement that engulfed Nagornyy Karabakh and Armenia and put forward constitutional and just demands called forth resistance in Azerbaijan and dark forces organized the Sumgait slaughter. There are as yet no other theories either in Azerbaijani sources or in the "statements of motives" of the criminals.

In the article of sad memory entitled "Emotions and Reason" this is what it says: "Terrible events took place in Sumgait. Taking advantage of an explosive situation criminal elements broke into certain apartments where Armenians lived with the intent of robbing them."

Time itself very quickly and with no effort refutes all the points of this article. It refutes them absolutely because it holds the pen of truth.

Fifty-two years ago in the 19 August 1936 issue of PRAVDA there was a long article by Beria, at that time head of the Transcaucasian party organization. In it the author accused Agasi Khandzian, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, of nationalism for the simple reason the Khadandzhan had dared to call for joining Nagornyy Karabakh with Soviet Armenia. Needless to say, the head of the Armenian communists was declared an enemy of the people.

So neither the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh nor the preconditions for the Sumgait inferno is anything new. And the purpose of the unseemly hubbub that has developed "around the events" and of the dirty "games" is to attempt to conceal the truth with a "sacred" lie and to pass over a peoples movement with its just demands and tragedy in silence.

I do not think they will succeed. Even if stupid phrases such as "group of extremists" or "murder from hooligan motives" are repeated hundreds of times, they will not be able to distort the essential points. Black is black, and white is white. And gray is the color of wolves, who are very dangerous when they form in packs.

From time to time I looked closely at the faces of the three defendants. Overcoming the pain in my heart, abdominal spasms, and headache and holding back tears, I looked closely at each of them separately, trying to figure out for myself what I think of them. Especially the leader, this humanoid with correct facial features. And the second one, with his slightly thin neck, and the young man with the wolf's eyes.

And suddenly I understood that I do not think anything. I feel in myself hatred, rage, and pity. Not forgiveness, not Christian absolution, but pity. I am sorry for them. It makes no sense to live that way, to live that way means to be a great burden to everyone.

I understood when I was saying goodbye to the widowed Melkumyan women, the widow of M. Ambartsumyan, and the Armenians who were present in the courtroom.

I understood that I think of our young men and women. I felt a sharp desire to see them all happy, proud, noble, respectable, physically strong, irreproachable. I wanted to see them all in gymnasiums where they would become physically tough so that they unarmed would be able to overcome the armed rebel, to see them all inseparable from the Earth and the Book, for the good of the part of the country of Nari that remains to us I wanted to attend all of their weddings and hear the endless cry of newborn babies in Armenia, Karabakh, and the Armenian Diaspora, everywhere that there are Armenians. I wished that the losses of millions, tens of thousands, and dozens would be replenished on behalf of our steadfastness, eternity, and endless movement forward.

I wished that this nightmare would end.

#### Armenian Paper Refutes Azerbaijani Claims About NKAO Nature Preserve

18300202a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
1 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by S. Babadzhanian, under rubric "With Regard to a Certain Azerinform Communique": "What Is This Khachin Tap?: Or the So-called Topkhana"]

[Text] A new signal has been given to incite passions: people in Azerbaijan are again attempting, by inciting the hatred of many thousands of readers, and not only the readers, to aggravate the already tense interethnic relations. This time the reason to stir up the unhealthy passions and unrest is an extremely convenient, albeit fabricated, one. It is alleged that in broad daylight, within the eyesight of everyone in Nagornyy Karabakh, a valuable monument that is linked with the history of the Azerbaijani nation is being ruined and annihilated.

However this may be, the BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY newspaper rushed to print "Azerinform Communique," a small report that touches upon two questions. One pertains to the housing problem, which is an acute and burning question in the republic, and the other pertains to the situation in NKAO and the area around it. Using as a pretext a discussion in the Baku labor collectives of the results of the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the authors of the report go much farther. The workers of Azerbaijan are said to be troubled by the threat hanging over them—the threat of losing Topkhana, "a historical monument of nature." "The lawful anxiety of the republic's workers," Azerinform writes, "was caused by the unsanctioned attempts by the workers in a cooperative at the Kanakerskiy Aluminum Plant, Armenian SSR, to carry out construction in the area of Topkhana near Shusha." Because that area is supposed to be a historical monument of nature, a bastion of the heroic struggle

waged by the Azerbaijani nation against the Iranian enslavers, as the agency notes with pride, and then it adds the reproachful statement, "And in the willful or unwillful threat against it, people justifiably see an encroachment upon the values that are close to their hearts, upon their historical memory." And in confirmation of this, they refer to the anti-Armenian rallies that are occurring in Baku...

Does the ordinary Azerbaijani worker have any idea of what Topkhana actually is? The Topkhana which the Armenians of Nagornyy Karabakh have called Khachin Tap since time immemorial? It is a completely ordinary-looking, not especially distinctive, plateau that is separated from the city of Shusha by a deep ravine. The plateau is surrounded by the Armenian villages of Shosh, Unot, Karin Tak, Mkhitarishen (named after Mkhitar Sparapet), and Skhnakh, and is not linked with the Azerbaijanis either historically or culturally. From generation to generation the land at Khachin Tap has been used by the inhabitants of those villages. They cultivated the land, and their pastured their livestock there. At the present time the fields and pastures of the village of Shosh cover extensive areas there. Although the area was free of structures, more than 500 historical and architectural monuments have been preserved in the neighboring villages. And all of them are Armenian. But today this area has been turned into a "bastion of the struggle waged by the Azerbaijani nation," although the historical sources do not confirm this. The question arises: who specifically has been linked with this place, who fought here? It turns out that the "hero" was the Turkish administrator of the Shusha fortress, a criminal khan who was famous in his day. Although Azerinform in its official communique did not mention the name of that criminal, in any case Azerinform could not have failed to know who it had in mind, and this also applies to its deceived reader.

The KOMMUNIST newspaper that is printed in Baku in the Azerbaijani language published an article with the same content, entitled "Topkhana—The Historical Memory of the Nation," which was reprinted by the VYSHKA newspaper in Russian (20 November 1988). In that article it is stated in black and white, "While waiting for aid from Russia, Ibrahim Khan (the newspaper presents him as a friend of the Russians) reinforced the city and its surroundings, preparing to put up serious resistance to the enemy." The newspaper not only fabricates, but also sprinkles falsifications among the reliable historical sources. This is a time-tested method for many Azerbaijani "scientists," as is generally known. But when the mass information media resort to obvious falsification, this is at least strange. Quoting a book that is probably not known to everyone, "Pervyye dobrovoltsy Karabakha" [The First Volunteers of Karabakh] (Tiflis [Tbilisi], 1902), the newspaper writes, "The heroic defense of Shusha was one of the brilliant pages in the biography of Ibrahim Khan." Now let us see what the Russian military historian V. Potto writes in this book of his: "In the beginning of 1806, after the treacherous

assassination of Prince Tsitsianov under the walls of the Baku fortress, all the insurgent forces raised their heads. Ibrahim Khan conceived the plan of betrayal and carried out secret negotiations with Abbas-Mirza, promising to give Shusha to him and to hand over the Lisanevich detachment that was located there." History knows how this insurgent's life ended—he was killed in a skirmish with the Russian detachment. We are not able to cite the excerpts from the well-known historical work written by the classic author of Armenian literature, novelist Raffi, "Melikstva Khamsy," in which he depicts the essential nature of this exploiter, who heaped so many misfortunes on the Armenian population of Nagornyy Karabakh. It is fitting to recall that lies have very short legs. However, we were forced to touch upon this history, attempting if only to a certain degree to make the truth known also to the readers of the newspapers that were mentioned, and to indicate to the participants of the Baku rallies the true intentions of the forces that play on the strings of the aroused national feelings. But more about that later.

How, then, did the name Topkhana (in Azerbaijani, "top" means "cannon," and "khana" means "place") become so widespread among the people?

"The answer can be found very easily by visiting the NKAO Museum of Regional History," its former director, Shagen Mkrtchyan, says. "The museum's displays include an old, half-destroyed cannon, which many years ago had been delivered here from Khachin Tap—Topkhana. On the weapon one can clearly read the inscription in Russian, 'Turin, 1813.' But the Armenian name of the place has deeper roots. In the work of Akop Shushetsi, 'Istoriya provintsii Artsakh' [History of the Province of Artsakh], which is in the Matenadaran imeni Mashtots in Yerevan (manuscript No. 2734), touching upon the events of the second half of the eighteenth century, the author writes that Shusha and its environs, including Khachin Tap, belongs to the Varanda melikstvo. This history confirms the presence of Armenian military units defending the Karkar valley."

However, as strange as this sounds, the name that evokes stormy emotions in a neighboring republic, that occupies a permanent place on the pages of the press and in radio broadcasts, and that has become the object of nationwide interest, actually is no such monument, and was never considered to be one either in the past or in the present. This was simply invented for the purpose of inflaming the situation. We have in our hands a number of publications and documents devoted to the monuments of Nagornyy Karabakh. None of these materials—lists of monuments located on the territory of the republic, including in Nagornyy Karabakh, which were approved by the AzSSR Council of Ministers in 1968 and were printed in Baku in April of that year, maps, guides, and old book—mention any monuments or holy places named Topkhana.



"In this book of mine," Sh. Mkrtchyan says, putting onto the desk a copy of the new, third edition in Russian of the book "Istoriko-arkhitekturnyye pamyatniki Nagornogo Karabakha" [Monuments of Historical Architecture in Nagornyy Karabakh], "I encompassed even the most undistinguished Azerbaijani monuments. However, for an understandable reason, Topkhana could not be included in this book. A rather long period has passed since the publication of the previous edition of the book, and approximately 5000 copies were distributed in Azerbaijan. The book has not raised anyone's objections."

Even the assertion "This place is a historical monument of nature...", my conversational partner says, is completely unfounded. This is attested to by the valuable research study by the famous Russian botanist V. Petrov, "Etnobotanika Nagornogo Karabakha" [Ethnobotany of Nagornyy Karabakh] (1940) which was published in Baku, when mentioned the extensive territories in the oblast that are covered by medicinal, edible, and dye plants, the places where they grow, etc. Topkhana is not mentioned in this book.

At this time it is easy to guess when the question of Topkhana is being raised so zealously in Baku. If the entire truth about this is not expressed now, it will never reach the broad circles of readers that Azerinform and the Azerbaijani newspapers and radio are attempting to delude, demanding in the name of the participants of the rallies that they take effective steps to stop the construction.

The time has now come to continue to pick up the conversational thread that was broken. In this question we are aided by a book that was published more than ten years ago in Baku—"Arkhitectura goroda Shusha" [Architecture of the City of Shusha] (in Russian; the author of the book is Azerbaijani architect E. Avalov), in which it is stated outright that a city should be developed on Topkhana, situated on the other side of the ravine, as had been done in Armenia to expand the city of Dzhermuk. Incidentally, the book does not contain a single word to the effect that this area, which is situated at a distance of several hundred meters from Shusha, is a monument, whereas Azerbaijani monuments situated at a distance of 50-70 kilometers are included in the city limits.

Agencies of Azerbaijan SSR simultaneously object, saying that Topkhana is a resort locality and that apartment buildings should not be built in its environs. But former Armenian inhabitants of specifically that city—the Shushans—who have been forcibly evicted from their apartments should live there.

In reality, exactly what are the workers at the aluminum plant building at Topkhana?

We met with plant director R. Yengoyan. He had previously expressed his indignation with regard to the Azerinform communique to the effect that, because of the

illegal construction near the village of Shosh, Askeranskiy Rayon, he had allegedly been given a reprimand by the chairman of ArSSR Council of Ministers.

"That is absolute slander," R. Yengoyan said. "Nothing of the sort could have occurred, if only for the reason that we never undertook anything without the appropriate decision and bilateral consent. In addition, the Kanakskiy Aluminum Plant is not subordinate to ArSSR Council of Ministers. The question of the construction of a branch or a plant in Karabakh is decided not by the government of Armenia, but by the appropriate union ministry."

The plant has in its possession decisions concerning the allocation of land to the Kanaz Cooperative that were made by a general meeting of the Kolkhoz imeni Engels, in the village of Shosh, as well as by the ispolkom of the rayon soviet. A decision concerning the construction of a boarding home with the aid of which it is planned to speed up the placement of the Armenians who have been moved from other regions has also been made by the ispolkom of the oblast soviet.

"The Kanaz Cooperative," the plant director continued, "will be a small production entity producing roof covering out of finished sheets of aluminum. The need for this roof covering is great precisely in this village, which, incidentally, is one of the eloquent examples of the policy of national discrimination. This has absolutely nothing to do with the harming of the environment. In addition, the plot that was allocated for the cooperative is situated close to the village of Shosh, rather remote from Topkhana, on territory that is not suitable for agricultural use and that is completely devoid of vegetation..."

But the mass information media in Azerbaijan keep repeating statements concerning the need to establish "good" interrelationships, and to "reinforce the interethnic traditions." One thing is obvious—that definite forces are inciting unhealthy passions and emotions and are instigating interethnic enmity. But we would advise them to seek out those forces not in their neighbor's house, but first of all under their own roof.

#### Roundtable on Intelligentsia's Role in Calming Armenian-Azerbaijani Tension

18300202B Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 2

[Article under rubric "SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Roundtable": "Stretching Out the Hand to One Another"]

[Text] For many years we have studiously repeated the formula: the intelligentsia is in debt to the nation. It is a formula that is not only abstract, but that, in essence, separates the intelligentsia from the nation of which it is a part, and with which it is bound by the closest ties. But

today what comes into the foreground is a new understanding of personal responsibility for everything that occurs and for one's own acts—for a film, for a book, for a spoken word. The new understanding, that continues the best traditions of the domestic intelligentsia which has always taken a sensitive attitude toward the alarms of the times, and an intelligentsia which is completely aware of its own personal responsibility for improving the moral state of society.

The situation that has developed in the trans-Caucasus in recent months could not fail to cause the sharpest unrest among people of all nationalities. We have lived through a rather large number of difficult, critical moments. And frequently the question has arisen: why do those whom we include in our intellectual elite remain silent? Why have the writers, poets, and painters of Azerbaijan and Armenia separated themselves from one another by a wall of lack of understanding? What is preventing them from entering into a dialogue despite the abundant appeals to do so? These questions are all the more vitally important because the intelligentsia of these republics—if they are to be completely honest about it—bear part of the blame for the aggravation of the tension, for making claims and reproaches against one another, and for tendentious publications or smoothly indifferent phrases about friendship, which conceal the true problems.

But the step toward one another must be taken, because there is no other course to take—that is the main ideal of the meeting that was held in our newspaper's editorial office. The meeting lasted until the tragic earthquake in Armenia. We did not yet know what catastrophe lay ahead of us. A catastrophe before which the evil and the petty yielded. A catastrophe that overturned everyone's soul, so that people who had been distant became close. Today everyone is possessed by a single desire—to save others, to provide warmth for them, to help them... But the tragedy has also illuminated the short endurance span, the impossibility of the situation of further confrontation. Because all the alarms remain. They are awaiting their hour. The tragedy has only stopped them temporarily, has only postponed them. That is why we have all firmly resolved to present to the court of readers the transcript of the discussion that occurred at the newspaper's editorial office.

The participants at the meeting were: A. Imamaliyev, chief traumatologist of Russia; Kh. Momdzhani, doctor of philosophical sciences; T. Makhmudova, pianist, AzSSR people's artist; M. Mchedlov, deputy director of IMEL [Marx, Engels, and Lenin Institute, under CPSU Central Committee]; V. Peskov, author and journalist; T. Salakhov, first secretary, board of governors, USSR SKh [Artists' Union]; Ye. Simonov, artistic director of the Theater of the Friendship of Nations, USSR people's artist; O. Ivanov, first deputy editor in chief; G. Oganov, newspaper's political commentator; Yu. Solomonov, member of the editorial board; and V. Kachurik, department editor.

[Ivanov] The discussion that will occur today is for us of an unusually important and informal nature. Today we have called together people who, inwardly and by birth, are linked with the trans-Caucasus, with its culture, and at the same time with the culture of Russia. We have only one question—what all of us together (I have in mind in this instance the newspaper too) must do to achieve a healthy feeling first of all among the trans-Caucasian intelligentsia, to encourage it to fulfill its humanitarian duty to our nations and to the socialist community of nations of the USSR? How can we encourage them to be active in stopping the nightmare—and there is no other way to express it—into which the two republics have been thrown at the present time?

Let us try to find the word that we need, the strings that we must cause to resound. Everyone aches for the trans-Caucasus. Each day of ours in the editorial office begins with sad news that is reported to us both by the official sources of information and by our own correspondents. There is just one thing that is clear to us—we cannot continue to live this way any longer.

[Mchedlov] Of course, there may be different points of view here. I am looking at this practically. If we make any appeal to the intelligentsia, it must contain this idea: it is shameful for civilized people to be in such a situation. The idea of appealing to the nation's consciousness, to the nation's psychology, must be present. The second point is that this is hindering perestroika. As a result, the forces that win are the ones that are attempting to be the "leaders of the nation," while actually they are at the very bottom of the swamp. They are the ones who are doing most of the shouting at the rallies, which have turned into nothing but assemblies of the mob.

But I feel that the most important thing is to appeal to the republics' Central Committees, which obviously have proven not to be on top of things. And finally we have the idea of people's diplomacy. In relations with the United States it has already been yielding its fruits. But we are dealing now with fraternal nations which have lived hundreds of years together. And they must continue now to live together. We must have meetings at various levels—composers with composers, painters with painters, authors and journalists with authors and journalists. And, of course, there are personal ties. I do not believe that friendship as a whole has evaporated.

But the basic idea of such meetings is the inevitability of compromise, of mutual tolerance. It is necessary to conduct such meetings of intellectuals—to have meetings also of historians, jurists, and philosophers. Let everyone have his say.

[Imamaliyev] Of course, during these days none of us can sleep calmly. I am an Azerbaijani. I was brought up in a family where the ideas of internationalism were perceived as something completely self-explanatory. In my telephone book the number of Armenians is certainly 10

times greater than in yours. My department consists of 40 persons, of 7 or 8 nationalities. Therefore the things that are occurring in the trans-Caucasus seem to me to be the theater of the absurd.

For almost 10 months we have all been in a difficult situation. During the very first days of the Karabakh crisis, I met a friend of mine who lives nearby—Leva Piruzyan, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. We spoke about our Armenian friends both in Yerevan and in Georgia. At that time I expressed this point of view—we must not wait until the cancer has become malignant. We need to carry out radical measures immediately. To a large extent we have lost that moment. There have been many appeals of various sorts. Take a look, for instance, at the appeal of the Baku Armenians to all the Armenians in Armenia. But what has it produced? Nothing. Today the path of reciprocal admonishments will lead nowhere. During that time I visited both Armenia and Azerbaijan. I managed to observe the most violent boiling up of passions in Armenia. And in Azerbaijan two weeks ago I heard statements being made at a city square. It was painful to listen to them. We have all lived through a period of terrible confusion. Unfortunately, our press also failed to take a firm position in this situation.

All of us here are cultivated people. I have a large number of friends among the intellectuals of Armenia. Never in their lives would they take part in these demonstrations—they understand that national problems cannot be resolved by methods of force. But even they cannot do anything. It has already been said that steps have been taken to discontinue the extremist actions. But that decision should have been made earlier.

At the moment Talyashinskiy's widow is a guest of mine. He had been a major traumatologist and had been born into a family of famous surgeons in Azerbaijan. His wife is an Armenian. When she arrived at our place, she was shaking all over: what would happen to the Armenians in Baku? It has been announced that 620 Azerbaijani families remain in Yerevan. But 200,000 Armenians remain in Baku! My mother, who is more than 81 years old, called me on the telephone and said, "Don't worry, sonny, no one is going to get into our house (in our driveway there are eight families, three of which are Armenian families)." We all know what it is to make repairs in an apartment. But in this instance people have to move away, to throw everything away... A week ago I got a telephone call from Edik Bagdasarov, a plant director. He told me that his daughter was coming this way and had to find a job in Moscow. I told him, "Edik, pal, you've grown up in Azerbaijan. Aren't you ashamed to talk to me like this? Of course I'll find her a job, but what is to be opening?" BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY has written this: there has been an increase in the number of Baku-Nakhichevan flights because the trains are not running. That means that they are not being allowed to pass through. This is ridiculous! This is being done in the Soviet Union, in my own home! This is where it is

necessary to take the proper steps. It seems to me that we have already lost the moment for arguments and admonishments. It is time to resort to radical methods of treatment.

Surgeons who specialize in transplant operations know of this story. German surgeon Leckser gave a woman a knee transplant. It turned out that the woman was a believer, but the knee joint had been taken from an atheist. She demanded an amputation... and the poor guy had to cut her leg off. Tissue rejection is understandable, but rejection because of religious belief or nationality is something that is unnatural for human nature. I perceive the explosion of such prejudices to be agonizing.

[Ivanov] Could you tell if, when you were in Baku, you encountered such judgments among the creative intellectuals?

[Imamaliyev] The intellectuals are basically writers, painters and other people in art, and now, also, scientific workers and medical workers are coming out into the streets. For the most part, they support the demands that are being made by the demonstrators, but they also attempt to calm people down. It is also necessary for the republic administrators to act more aggressively. Because, unfortunately, a few of them have locked themselves into their offices. But it is necessary to speak to the people openly, face to face. Statements made over television or the radio do not provide the same effect.

[Momdzhian] A group of Armenian intellectual comrades visited me at home at the very beginning of the events. Naturally, they spoke about Karabakh. I told them at that time that it is necessary to leave at rest the question of returning Karabakh to Armenia. This question is unresolvable. In any case at this stage. It is better to think a bit about something else: how to create humane living conditions for the Armenian population in Karabakh itself? How to make this piece of land, which is inhabited not only by Armenians, a flourishing land? I know the history of the question. I have studied it on the basis of all the archival information... Discussions about "partitioning" can aggravate the contradictions even more.

I feel that we are obliged to issue an appeal to the intellectuals of Azerbaijan and Armenia—to change over from the thoughtlessness of passions to intelligence. It is precisely to intelligence that we must turn, to people's spirit. We should ask them to think a bit about why you hate one another. You must stop this fruitless confrontation that is unworthy of our civilization. Otherwise you yourselves will not notice how you going back to the days of the Middle Ages, with the methods for resolving conflicts which were typical of those days.

Of course the question might arise: but will this be heard both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan? I do not know what the attitude in Armenia will be to the fact that I and other comrades of Armenian origin are making this kind



of appeal to Armenians. Probably they will not understand this appeal very much right now. But people must begin to think things out reasonably...

Inasmuch as there has been a frank discussion here, I would like for the people in the Central Committee to know our opinion. I share Imamaliyev's opinion to the effect that both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia the authorities did not display, and are continuing not to display, sufficient aggressiveness and have been defending our law and order poorly. Because they have been abuses of holy things that we gained with difficulty—democratism, glasnost, the freedom to express one's opinion. They are being used to the detriment of our future.

Here is one episode. A former postgraduate student of mine returned from Armenia comparatively recently. He visited me at home and told me that, at the place where the rallies are currently being held, a board has been installed so that people can not only say, but also can write and affix their recommendations... Those recommendations were of all kinds, including some which, in my opinion, were absolutely unacceptable. But the authorities remained silent.

So I think, do we understand all our freedoms correctly? The level of our political culture causes serious fears. We have gathered here in order to appeal to the intellectuals, in order for the intellectuals to exert some kind of influence upon the masses, so that they will stop arguing and fighting. But we also need bold political methods for resolving the conflict. We must also use power. I know what Armenia was like during the Demirchyan period. I worked there for many years. I understand what that led to—indifference, the neglected state of the national question and of intellectual education, etc. And when the events began, one began to see complete confusion, the complete lack of authority among the nation.

I think that it is a matter of conscience for us, the representatives of the intelligentsia—in this instance, Azerbaijani and Armenian—who are working in the capital of our Homeland, to issue an appeal to our brothers, our colleagues. And we must not limit ourselves only to words. We must act where actions are needed.

[Makhmudova] I am an Azerbaijani, although I have been living in Moscow for 38 years. I have very close ties with the republic. I always get BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY. Actually, that newspaper contained a large number of completely eloquent, ardent appeals from performing artists and intellectuals. In addition, there was not just one letter, but, rather, several letters from Baku Armenians. It is impossible to express oneself in a more exact and more convincing way. The day before yesterday I flew to Baku, and I must say immediately that, in my opinion, the nation's basic claims are against the mass information media. In the evening of 3 December, the decree of the Supreme Soviet Commission was read,

and all of Azerbaijan sat frozen in front of the television sets. Then there were interviews. First an Azerbaijani, like tomcat Leopold, said, "Let's live together in harmony." Then there was an interview with worker Petrosyan. He said that they were not striking, but, on the contrary, they were working more, in order to help the refugees, and that it was necessary to behave intelligently and to wait for the resolution of the Karabakh question. At that point the city exploded. If that question is not decided, then let everyone talk about it. If it has been decided, then the decision must be a firm one. We have a government, not some kind of student game.

And there is a second point. It might be worthwhile to have a television "roundtable"—to gather all the most dynamic adherents of transferring Nagornyy Karabakh to Armenia and to ask them, "Could you please tell us that, if you receive Karabakh, will that land be worth the blood that has been shed, or the friendship that it will be very difficult to restore?" I grew up in Baku. You know, those are our eastern courtyards—in Tbilisi, Yerevan, and Baku in particular. I have always been terribly proud of the fact that we have a remarkably international city. It is necessary to live in harmony with our neighbors and to make any compromises.

I have all the Baku newspapers: VYSHKA, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY, MOLODEZH AZERBAIDZHANA, and they all state outright that the situation with Topkhana is a provocation. Even when the operations were discontinued, the searchlights would be turned on at night or bulldozers would begin idling. The appearance would be made that people were working there. They were putting on a provocation. The question is: where were the authorities looking?

But the most important thing is that I was convinced that it is not just a matter of territorial boundaries. It is necessary to make sure that people can live well at any place in the Soviet Union. The Azerbaijanis and the Armenians will always be neighbors not just in this century, but in the subsequent ones. And we do not have any other path. There never has been one and there never will be one. We still will have common boundaries, a common culture, and music in common.

[Peskov] The tragedy of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis is our common tragedy. The roots of that tragedy are the lack of democracy, and also the distortions in the economy. Everything that had been stoppered like a genie has broken out of the bottle. I think that both the authorities and the intellectuals at first had a tolerant attitude to this. They seemed to say, "Well, thank God, the nation has woken up. Let's plow the land and we can grow sweet fruits on this land." But what has been growing are weeds. The information coming in from the republics forces us to think carefully about a lot of things.

I think that the intellectuals also bear the responsibility for everything that has been happening. The crowd is blind. Do you remember Shakespeare's phrase—"all the

sediment has floated up from the bottom." And the crowd is inspired if respected people join up with it. But the situation right now is extremely complicated. One observes here partially the effect of the natural law: social diseases seek a way out primarily along national channels. History knows this. And the intellectuals participated in this matter.

At the present time, regardless of how much we talk about Nagornyy Karabakh, it is impossible to resolve this problem. It is necessary simply to put it aside and to wait until our heads cool. I have the sensation that Nagornyy Karabakh is a pretext, so to speak, for venting all the passions that have accumulated. I may be mistaken, because there is no first-hand information. But it is very complicated to resolve the question by the administrative method. Because, whichever side of the scales the grain of sand falls, it will cause a counteraction on the other side.

What is the way out? Of course, appeals, no matter how ardent and emotional they are, will certainly not achieve any result. Force also is no panacea. Take Belorussia, for example. The authorities, having seen their fill of everything that was happening on the southern and western borders, decided that this was a situation requiring the application of force. And they applied it. But things turned out poorly. Vasil Bykov, a person whom I deeply respect, appears in OGONEK. Everything in the article is correct, but I am simply overcome by trembling at the way that the intelligentsia, willingly or unwillingly, has proven to be in the cauldron of those passions which, at this stage, we must fear very much and which we should approach very cautiously.

Of course, we appear to be people who are fighting a fire with a medicine dropper. But there are things that have to be done. And I think that our appeal today is, once again, to the intellectuals, and, once again, to thinking people with authority on both sides of the conflict. It seems to me that we must somewhat appeal to the most respected Armenians and to the most respected Azerbaijanis. Who will these people be? Where can they come together? Perhaps even here. They can come together and show that the best people are sounding an appeal to both nations, telling them, "Stop!"

We are all thinkers who are responsible to the nation for its future. The Armenians and Azerbaijanis can carry from this situation into their history a load that will always lie heavily on their relations. It is a terrible thing if we sow seeds of evil and animosity. Yes, we always ridiculed and enjoyed what was happening abroad, but now we ourselves have encountered a burning problem. Yesterday I listened to Voice of America. People who were interviewing a certain person were trying to find out who got hit with a club there. America, with its democracy, whenever it was necessary, would lay into people's backs with a club, and democracy would never suffer from that. There is no need to get angry about this.

If a hooligan is poked in the back with a club, nothing special will happen. But we must remember that force must be used cautiously. And intellectuals must understand this.

Let us appeal to the ten most respected people in Armenia and Azerbaijan and call them together here. We must begin by getting things moving from a dead start. This is very important—to take the first step to meet one another halfway.

[Simonov] I would like to ask the question: why, with the beginning of perestroika, have the destructive processes become more active? This seems to be a paradox, since perestroika is essentially constructive. But the fact of the matter is that it is easier to destroy. It seems to me that certain people have been engulfed by the inspiration, or, as happens with Dostoyevskiy, the rapture of destruction. Even Tolstoy said: the evil unite quickly, but the good, in order to come to an understanding, can sit around for nights at a time and still not understand one another. Destruction is the instinct of bad people. The crowd, the fusing together of some kind of mass in which man is turned into a beast—this situation is tragic. I am spiritually linked with Arutyunyan and Saryan, and am linked with the house of Bagramyan... I am proud of the fact that my father is the creator of the Sundukyan Theater. I have friendly feelings toward Armenia. I did a lot of work there. But I am also proud of the fact that I was the first person to stage Ibragimbekov's "The Woman Behind the Green Door," and that I brought Imran Kasumov into the Maly Theater. Such a very talented artist as Tair Salakhov used to work at the Vakhtangov Theater and he did virtuoso work.

But what is happening among us currently?—you talk about the good, and no one listens to you. People are beginning—if you will pardon my expression—to become gradually stupid. How does one stop this. Today we have spoken about the primary sources of the conflict. It seems to me that it lies in the very possibility that people can say, "Okay, let's go, guys! Without wine, everything is possible!" But there are holy things. There are limits, boundaries, which cannot be crossed over. This is a question of our culture, of our civilized state.

At present I am engaged in very serious work at the Theater of the Friendship of Nations. I know Uzbekistan well. And I know people's moods: they are not particularly good. Recently I was in Kazakhstan, and the situation is the same. I have students of various nationalities. And I am terribly pleased when people have a burning thirst for unity. At a recent regional festival in Alma-Ata there were people of the most diverse nationalities, and I saw people sitting at the table, talking to one another: this instinct of interaction, of unity, is the best and the most majestic gain of the Soviet authority, and we must not lose it.

The word is a mighty weapon. It is another matter when our "state language" has ceased to be the inspirational word, but an opposing word sounds clearly. It is devoid of any stereotyped formulations, and everything that is nonstereotypical has the aura of innovation. It is necessary to explain to people the possible consequences of irresponsibility. We close our eyes to them, we stick our heads in the sand like ostriches, and we say: "Everything is good, this is only the 'fifth wave.' The hour for the 'tenth wave' has not yet come..." At this moment, it seems to me, we have no place for complacency. We must speak the word that will unite people, that will call upon them to create, rather than to destroy. People who fight for unity, as a rule, are talented people. People who fight for the opposite, as a rule, are compensating for their deficiencies. And so we see in their actions a manifestation of what they have been unable to express in music, in poetry, and in painting. Therefore it seems to me that the word must be spoken—a weighty, unbu-reaucratic, genuine word.

[Salakhov] The sense of misfortune is tragically reflected within each of us. Because I remember how, during the days of my youth in Baku, one of the first persons to support my creative work was Grigoriy Oganov, who at that time was working at BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. That interaction was natural. There have never been any national problems for the people of Baku. And we recall Saryan's funeral. Representatives came to Armenia from Georgia and Azerbaijan, from all parts of the country. They all carried the coffin of the great master all the way to the pantheon. And when Kara Karayev died, people came from Moscow, Leningrad, and all the republics. During those sad moments when a Personality was leaving our life, we all stood side by side. So today's disbalance cannot even enter our head, it cannot be perceived. It like some kind of unhealthy food, because just last year I participated in the work of the congress of the painters of Azerbaijan. From there I went to the congress of the painters of Armenia. Working together, we decided our creative matters. Everything was normal!

The fate of the nations of Armenia and Azerbaijan is not indifferent to anyone. And it seems to me that the first thing that we ought to think about is *what we shouldn't do*. What we must not do. What is impossible in today's situation. We must develop an entire system of bans—we must ban reciprocal reproaches, suspiciousness, etc. And from there we can begin the path to the good. We must remove the mines from the zone where dangerous explosions are possible, and we must proceed at such time only on the basis of the highest interests both of the nation of Azerbaijan and the nation of Armenia. That which is happening is pulling us back from the line of renovation, from perestroika, once again toward slavery. We have become so accustomed to slavery that we are beginning to love it. Individual persons want a return or are unwittingly bringing it closer.

I am convinced that we must not yield. We must not allow the possibility of yielding in matters of perestroika, we must not yield ideas that have already been

won. It is necessary for all of us to work together to take the "dark glasses" off the eyes of the representatives of our nations in Armenia and Azerbaijan. We must throw light on the situation, we must show that the world is bright, beautiful, and human, that it is good. It is unpleasant for me, for example, that my friend Nabi Khazri and my friend R. Gamzatov do not converse with one another directly, but only through the newspaper. I wonder how I am supposed to behave. I have friends everywhere. This situation is unnatural. Therefore I should not take anyone's side, but instead should seek a way out that is common to everyone. There is a sense that the intellectuals are an isolated grouping in the republics, and if the figures in our cultures could meet in the outlying areas—and if they could include Yev-tushenko, Shatrov, Adamovich, Klimov, and other creative individuals, writers, and composers—we would be able to overcome these destructive tendencies toward this isolation.

Yevgeniy Simonov is current in the sense that the word today can have a weighty sound. But that depends on where you are speaking from. It depends on whether you are broadcasting from the rear, or while you are standing right next to everyone. Because it is possible to sound the retreat for democracy, or one can search for and develop a democratic strategy with a consideration of the national psychology of all nations. A long-term strategy that also have a preventive effect.

[Solomonov] It seems to me that in the idea of a meeting of the intellectuals, of the most respected people in the two union republics, there is a positive way out. But these people must be true leaders, rather than simply "names." The chief condition is that we must find people to whom this same "crowd" looks, a crowd which—I agree with Vasily Mikhaylovich—possesses an irrational awareness.

But if this kind of meeting occurred, it would have to be preceded by completely honest and objective information about what has occurred, so as not to clarify the situation over and over again and so as to get out of the vicious cycle of reproaches. It is easy to blame the mass information media. But the fact that the mass information media are also under surveillance is no secret to anyone, because it is a matter not only of truthful information, but also of how to stop the flood of untruthful information. We must stop all kinds of whitewashing the situation, when our ubiquitous commentator appears on the screen and, in a mellifluous voice, begins to say that the brigade workers include Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Jews—and all of them work very harmoniously together. This also makes people begin to feel sick. Sweet-sounding fairy tales cause the reverse effect. It is necessary to ban the carrying out of this kind of "international" propaganda by means of "Sovnarkom [Soviet of People's Commissars] decree.

It is necessary to talk honestly and openly and to seek some paths for resolving the situation. As for appeals.



There have already been many of them. We are waiting for the intellectuals to appeal to the masses. And in such a way that they will be understood.

[Kachurin] I would like to support Yuriy Borisovich's statement that, of course, general appeals of a slogan nature are ineffective.

Recently I visited Armenia, for the second time. What I saw staggered me. This was some kind of completely new phenomenon: refugees, streams of people who had been torn away from their homes... And what if, actually, in a single family the wife is Armenian and the husband is an Azerbaijani? What are they supposed to do. Much has been reported currently about this in the newspapers, and, in my opinion, more than ever before. It would seem that there has been discernible progress in this regard. Although one can still sense sharply the absence of the half-truth.

[Oganov] We have heard very genuine words here today. In this sense our meeting has not been superfluous. In any case genuineness always wins out, especially in this situation.

I am afraid that, to a certain extent, we have listened spellbound to ourselves. What I have in mind is the counting specifically on printed works. The feeling is that SOVETSKAYA KULTURA will publish some kind of appeal, and peace and harmony will come to Armenia and Azerbaijan. Unfortunately, this will not occur because the newspaper wills it. Our task is to develop a program of actions. This program of actions will include the most diverse forms, genres, and meetings of individual persons which we have to discuss, and which would not be a glorification "addressed to our friend," but which would contain elements of careful reflection, or even dispute, if you like. However dangerous this invitation is in the present situation, it seems to me that it is much better than these roundabout formulations with which our representatives of the social sciences sinned in thousands of monographs and dissertations devoted to the topic of the friendship of nations.

A meeting of the most respected people, of friends from the various republics who are read to defend various points of view, is necessary. But one must understand this supertask of ours. The propagandizing of a very simple idea must form its basis. Actually, we have lived together for centuries, and we shall continue to live together for centuries. We must learn everywhere the art of living together. During these decades we did not split up for any reason, but we did not think seriously even once about the fact that living together is an art. The authority was "strong," the authority, from time to time, punished so-called bourgeois nationalists or various other foes. But we did not see what was standing behind them. And we agreed or failed to agree. Obviously, the time to think has come. We have heard here a very correct idea with regard to the question of what a mob is,

and what, if you will, spiritual running amok is. Unfortunately, this has occurred, especially recently. Speaking about negative situations that contradict the goals of perestroika, people here have remarked that one can observe a way out past the confines of the common sense that has been primordialy inherent in the human species. All these things are what we must talk to people about, but we must talk not with the language of declarations, but by resting upon traditions, upon the profound understanding of the path that has been traveled...

[Ivanov] Our meeting attests to the fact that we do actually share common values, a common cause, and common construction, which has been interrupted only for a while. Only for a while. We shall renew it. I would like, together with SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, for some kind of movement to begin in our sphere, the sphere of culture—a movement that is aimed to overcoming the crisis. We must act.

#### **Georgian Daily Publishes Guidelines For Holding Demonstrations**

18300141 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
6 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with Tbilisi Gorispolkom Chairman Andriadze by a Gruzinform correspondent: The Meeting Place Has Been Specified"]

[Text] The ispolkom of the Soviet of Peoples Deputies for the city of Tbilisi adopted a resolution on procedures for conducting meetings and assemblies in Tbilisi. Irakliy Onisimovich Andriadze, chairman of the Tbilisi gorispolkom, comments on this resolution.

Our society is learning some tough lessons about democracy. We all know from experience the fine points of mastering this tool by which the people participate in deciding the real issues of life in the community. Recently in the capital of the republic, several unsanctioned meetings have been held. In some cases, the spontaneous nature of the meetings interfered with maintaining order. The conditions themselves at these meetings even hindered the free exchange of opinions and they were of no benefit to the common good. Because of this, the ispolkom of the Tbilisi soviet adopted a special resolution to regulate the practice of holding such meetings and assemblies.

What is at the heart of the resolution? I must point out that permission to hold appropriate gatherings will be given in accordance with the requirements of the well-known 28 July, 1988 Directive of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Let me briefly recall its main provisions.

Application to hold a meeting, assembly, and so on may be made by anyone who has reached 18 years of age and who is an authorized agent of a labor collective from an enterprise, institution or organization or also from a

cooperative agency or other public organization, or independent groups of citizens. Application must be made to the Soviet of People's Deputies no later than 10 days before the intended date of the meeting. The application must show the purpose, type of meeting, time of meeting, estimated number of participants, and so on. The local soviet can deny permission to conduct meetings, assemblies, or demonstrations if their purpose contradicts the Constitution of the USSR or the constitution of the republic.

The resolution adopted in Tbilisi specifies the place where meetings and assemblies may be held. Several suggestions were made during the discussion of this issue at the ispolkom session. After the polemics, however, everyone was of the opinion that the most suitable place was the Tbilisi Hippodrome. The Hippodrome is close enough to the center of the city while, at the same time, it is removed from the heavily used transport routes and this not unimportant for maintaining normal traffic flow.

The Saburta'inskiy Rayispolkom has been instructed to equip the designated area to ensure that it has everything necessary for organized assemblies or meetings of the workers.

#### **GSSR Council of Ministers Creates Demographic Working Group**

18300218 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
23 Nov 88 p 3

[GRUZINFORM information report: "Working Commission Is Formed"]

[Text] In order to study the demographic conditions in the republic and to develop the appropriate recommendations, by a decision of the GSSR Council of Ministers a Working Commission for studying the demographic condition of the population is formed at the Council of Ministers. The following comrades are included in this commission: O.Ye. Cherkeziya, Chairman of the GSSR Council of Ministers (Commission chairman); N.A. Popkhadze, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee; V.R. Asatiani, GSSR Culture minister; A.M. Apakidze, vice-president of the GSSR Academy of Sciences, Academician of the GSSR AS; A.I. Bakradze, art director of the academic drama theater imeni K. Mardzhanishvili; I.M. Begiashvili, writer; M.I. Berdzenishvili, USSR People's Artist, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Arts; L.I. Gagua, secretary of GSSR Labor Union Council; O.G. Gvakhariya, director of the science and new technology department at the GSSR Council of Ministers' business authority; Ts. L. Gugava, GSSR deputy minister of welfare; V.G. Gurgenzidze, deputy director of the Georgian CP Central Committee's propaganda and agitation department; D.P. Dzeladze, director of the Georgian branch of the Scientific-Research Institute of labor at the USSR State Committee for labor and social issues; N.A. Dzhavakhishvili, Academician of the GSSR Academy of Sciences, director of

the Institute for experimental morphology at the GSSR AS, chairman of the Georgian republican committee of the Soviet women; A.I. Dzhavahishvili, corresponding member of the GSSR Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the GSSR State Museum imeni S. Dzhannashia at the GSSR Academy of Sciences; R.A. Dzhaparidze, chairman of the GSSR State Committee for labor and social issues; R.A. Dzhaparidze, writer; G.N. Yenukidze, GSSR Minister of Public Education; G. Sh. Kvartskheliya, professor of the State Pedagogic Institute imeni A.S. Pushkin, All-Georgian Society imeni Rustaveli board member; D.V. Margvelidze, first secretary of the Georgian Komsomol's Central Committee; M.V. Murdzhikneli, GSSR deputy finance minister; G.G. Nakaidze, GSSR Gosplan's deputy chairman; D.A. Nozadze, deputy Justice minister; G.I. Pandzhikidze, GSSR Writers Union Board's secretary; A.V. Pirtskhalava, senior advisor of the group for public health and social welfare at the GSSR Council of Ministers' business authority (Commission's executive secretary); T.S. Ratiiani, deputy chairman of the GSSR State Committee for Statistics; A.R. Sanablidze, chairman of the GSSR State Committee for TV and Radio; A.B. Totadze, lecturer of the Georgian CP Central Committee's propaganda and agitation department; N.V. Uznadze, GSSR deputy Health minister; A.G. Khomasuridze, director of the Scientific-Research Institute for human generative function imeni I. Zhordaniya; G.Ye. Tsuladze, Doctor of historical sciences, director of the department for demography and sociology at the Peoples' Friendship museum; N.G. Cherkezishvili, chairman of the Georgian Journalists Union, newspaper KOMUNISTI editor-in-chief; Z.A. Chkhaidze, 1st deputy chairman of the GSSR Council of Ministers; P.P. Chkhaidze, director of the Georgian CP Central Committee department for organizational Party and personnel work.

The Commission is charged with analyzing the demographic processes taking place in the republic and must submit to the GSSR Council of Ministers its proposals for the normalization of the demographic state of the republic's population; and together with the All-Georgian society imeni Rustaveli, it must submit to the GSSR Council of Ministers a proposal concerning the formation of a Georgian demographic fund.

#### **Georgian Hunger Strikers' Platform Promoted**

##### **LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Interviews Gamsakhurdia**

18300216 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by Yu. Rost and his photograph of hunger strikers: "There Were No Casualties, But Some People Became Wiser"]

[Text] The meeting was over. Listeners applauded, and the procession moved further on through the rayons of Tbilisi.

I asked one of the leaders of the informal organizations, Zviyad Gamsakhurdia; "What is the reason for this demonstration?"

He answered: "There are rumors that we call for the expulsion of representatives of other ethnic groups from Georgia and stir up national passions. This is a lie. On the contrary, our calls for reason and for national reconciliation could be heard during this and other meetings."

Maybe, the events in Georgia have appeared to journalists as less sharp than noisy demonstrations in other places against the constitutional amendments... All the more, we should have noticed the proper attempts to influence the demonstrators by the Party, State, and administrative authorities and, in most cases, loyal behavior of hunger strikers and demonstrations' participants. The participants wanted Georgia, as a sovereign republic, to be free from petty centralized care, and that the laws for Georgia would be developed in Georgia, discussed in Georgia, and only after that would be approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. In short, they wanted the same things which were talked over in many our country's homes during the discussions of the constitutional amendments.

One may denounce the hunger strike's organizers and the strikers themselves for the extreme method they have chosen. We may feel sorry for the hunger strikers... The Georgian CP and government felt it to be their duty and took upon themselves the care for life and health of their young compatriots. Here, we should be happy that an opposite decision, which would divide Georgia and embitter the both sides, was not made.

Representatives of the different republic's rayons were laying on mattresses near the House of Government... Thousands of people were on the Prospect Rustaveli, order was provided by a thin line of militiamen, but the officers were constantly bringing warm water to the hunger strikers and were telling them the latest news.

This outward appearance of peace and peaceful candlelights at nights required tremendous efforts of thousands of people.

The GSSR Health minister Irakliy Menagarashvili stayed days and nights at a first-aid post, in which the Artists' House was converted. Twelve ambulances with their crews were constantly on duty near the demonstrators. In case of emergency, all the city's ambulances would be available.

An alarming situation has emerged shortly before the GSSR Supreme Soviet's session. This was not unexpected for the city. The Party leaders started a candid discussion with the Georgian youth and intelligentsia. And even if not all the answers of the Georgian CP Central Committee first secretary D.I. Patiashvili have satisfied the medical school students (it is appropriate to maintain one's opinion during a dialog), they have felt

the honest attempt of the Party leader to understand the young people's demands and his respect of their ideology. All this created a mutual trust, which prevented a dangerous confrontation in a case, when tolerance toward a different from yours opinion is required. I think that the meetings with Georgia's intelligentsia helped the leadership of the republic not simply to select a correct mode of behavior (this would be dishonest toward their own peoples), but rather to understand how serious the problems worrying the youth are, and how they in their own way defend the achievements of perestroika, which are threatened to drown in words and imitations of activities...

The end of the hunger strike, which began on 22 Nov 88, was scheduled on 29 Nov 88, the first day of the USSR Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session. At the same day a never-ending meeting had to begin. However, it did not take place.

In the morning, M.S. Gorbachev broadcast his appeal to the Georgian peoples and the Georgian youth. Loudspeakers carried his message over the crowd of many thousands. When the ovation ended, it became clear that the meeting was over. Only piles of warm clothes, blankets, and thermos... remained the evidence of the event, which has left its trace in the modern Georgia's history. This even has shown that an understanding, tact, and mutual respect can peacefully resolve a situation, which in absence of these qualities, could get a different, tragic turn.

In this case, allow me to write the true words, which were not trusted before, namely, there were no casualties and victims. Only those, who became wiser, are.

#### Strikers' Stance Mitigated

18300216 Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian  
26 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report and an accompanying photograph showing hunger strikers: "Tbilisi. Near the House of Government"]

[Text] Today our newspaper is publishing the resolution of the GSSR Supreme Soviet's 10th session of the 11th convocation. The resolution stresses that the GSSR Supreme Soviet's session considers the discussion of the submitted draft laws "On Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Main Law)" and "On Elections of the USSR People's Deputies" in their present revision to be inexpedient, and requires to amend these draft laws with amendments demanded by the GSSR public.

The majority of the republic's population approved this decision. However, this resolution did not satisfy a group of young people and several informal associations. They expressed their negative attitude toward the submitted draft laws by starting a hunger strike in front of the House of Government in Tbilisi.



For the fifth day they express their demands, of which the main one is that the submitted draft laws do not coincide with the processes of democratization, trample on the sovereign rights of the republics, and contradict the principles of voluntary union of free peoples. Therefore, this revision of draft laws concerning changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution is unacceptable. They consider that a new GSSR Constitution must be developed, and only then the USSR Constitution should be prepared based on the Constitutions of the Union's republics.

Rumors have spread that this group of young people is calling for an interethnic discord. As they noted in their discussions with journalists and representatives of the public, these rumors are provocation, a total lie, which has nothing in common with their goals.

Friendliness toward people of any ethnicity and faith living in Georgia was always typical for the Georgians, and it cannot be tolerated that these sacred traditions would be trampled upon.

#### **Open Letter to Supreme Soviet Requests Halt to Chemical Plant Project**

18300227 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 p 4

[Open Letter from S.V. Mikhalkov, M.A. Ulyanov, B.N. Laskorin and M.M. Dubinin to USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "The Volga Itself is Threatened"]

[Text] *We are impelled to deal with this letter by circumstances which go beyond the bounds of the ordinary: throughout the story of which we speak, there is clear-cut demonstration of the antidemocratic system which had taken root over the years, wherein any actions of the administrative-control apparatus were inevitably identified with the highest interests of the state; but often they were contrary to not only public opinion, but to the law as well.*

Since prerevolutionary times, in the city of Zavolzhsk, right on the banks of the Volga, a dye-manufacturing plant has been polluting the river and its environs. People have learned to live with it. For all these years the belief was that we have an abundance of natural resources, and we can press them in the name of the highest interests of the country's economic development. We have pressed them to the limit, and continue to do so. They are about to begin construction of the second phase of the Zavolzhsk Chemical Plant imeni N.V. Frunze, which will have considerably greater manufacturing capacity than the existing plant. They have decided to locate this second phase in a deeply-forested region not far from the Volga—one of the last islands of greenery in the European part of the country not yet touched by industry; a region of coniferous forests and pure forest rivers, which the Russian dramatist A.N. Ostrovskiy, who loved them, called the "Kingdom of the Berendey". The Volga Basin is the "lungs" of the European part of Russia; its sweet breath bestows a salutary influence on the ecology of the neighboring, densely-populated industrial oblasts: Ivanov, Yaroslavl and Vladimir.

The public is justifiably upset. You see they have laid out the space for the major new enterprise on the very borders of the Shchelykovskiy Museum-Park of the great Russian dramatist A.N. Ostrovskiy, just eight kilometers from his grave. Moreover, the prevailing winds are unfavorable for the territory of the park: the plant will "breathe" right in the face of the museum-estate.

It is suspected that all this was done on the quiet. Neither the Kostroma Oblast Ispolkom, nor the All-Russian Nature Preservation Society was notified of the pending construction; and you see, it is only with its consent that major industrial construction may begin in close proximity to national park territories under state protection. Nor was the RSFSR Theatrical Society, to whom the museum-park belongs, notified. Incidentally, not long ago a decision was adopted on further development and improvement of the park. But its execution has been practically ruled out by another decision, also taken in Moscow—on building the aforementioned enterprise.

A familiar problem has arisen, which we know of from the sad fate of Yasnaya Polyana. As is well known, they are now trying to correct the fatal mistakes of the past there. But who has to pay for this? The national treasury. And who suffers? The national culture.

The public poured out its alarm in two open letters: "Turn Aside the Disaster!" and "It's Not Too Late!" which were published in PRAVDA on 19 July 1986 and 29 March 1987. Their authors are the country's most prominent scientists, to include academicians-chemists, famous writers and cultural figures. After the articles appeared in PRAVDA, other publications took up the same topic, including SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, TRUD, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA; and special broadcasts were aired over Central Radio and TV. Speaking out in support of the publications were the RSFSR Writers' Union, the RSFSR Theatrical Society, the RSFSR Ministry of Culture, and the Kostroma CPSU Obkom and Oblast Ispolkom. Also, a special government commission sent from Moscow in response to the PRAVDA article has recommended transferring the place of construction to another place. The citizens of Kineshma, a city very near the site of the future enterprise, are upset as well.

What the public requires most is a serious approach to the solution of the problem, and glasnost. But the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Council of Ministers stubbornly insist on building the plant there, where they planned to. And without delay. It's as if the just-adopted USSR law on nationwide discussion of large economic projects which affects broad sectors of

the populace, did not exist. In the given situation we are talking about just such a project. We have become convinced once again that the executive authorities, as in the years of stagnation, consider themselves stronger than the legislative authorities, and do not pay proper respect to the latter, the moreso to public opinion and the viewpoint of the creative intelligentsia. They have placed the argument of authority above the authority of the arguments!

No one is speaking against the expansion of the chemical industry. But alas, we know that uncontrolled "expansion" on the part of the organs of national authority have caused, and are even now causing unjustified harm to living nature, and to society as a whole. We cannot trust the casually made assurances that, "everything will be all right." The tragedy of Chernobyl, and the disasters of Baykal, Yasnaya Polyana and the Aral Sea demand special vigilance from us. Common sense does not allow us to trust the reassuring responses of those responsible for this project. Today they are in power, and tomorrow they will retire on pension, and for some, thereafter everything else can go to hell. One would think that in view of the threat of ecological catastrophe which hangs above the planet, what is needed above all is responsibility—and not bureaucratic, narrowly-departmental but the very broadest civic responsibility.

It was precisely this comprehension that motivated us to conduct a special joint session of the secretaries of two of Russia's creative societies—the writers and theatrical societies, in Shchelykov last February. Invited to the session were scientists and representatives of party and state institutions, and also those who defend the aforementioned project. Everyone who wished to do so was given a chance to speak, including our opponents. Alas, their arguments boiled down to same thing: that the future enterprise would cause no harm whatsoever, neither to people nor to nature. These statements are either an attempt to justify the labor invested in this controversial project, or they were made in accordance with strict orders from higher authorities.

It has become clear to us that only the highest authorities can be the judge in such a principled dispute. The expanding process of democratization of society has given us confidence. And that is why the secretariat of both societies in joint session decided to request that the members of these societies who are also deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet make an official deputy's inquiry at the next session of the highest organ of power, to the government of the USSR with respect to the planned construction. This past May such an inquiry was sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet. It was signed by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Yu. V. Bondarev, D. Ts. Dashiyev, R. G. Gamzatov, K. Yu. Lavrov, S. V. Mikhalkov, and T. I. Sinyavskaya. In accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, they requested promulgation of the inquiry at the coming session of the Supreme Soviet.

However, an incomprehensible thing happened—the participants in the session did not hear about the inquiry. It turns out, that certain bureaucratic mechanisms at the highest organ of Soviet power are still operating meticulously, in the old way. Not even the standing commissions on problems of protecting the environment in both houses of the Supreme Soviet were made aware of the inquiry. The documents were purely and simply "booted over" to the officials of the corresponding subdivisions of the USSR Council of Ministers, to whose improper actions we had called attention.

The May session of the highest organ of national power concluded, and soon the leaders of the RSFSR Theatrical Society and the Writers' Union were summoned to the USSR Council of Ministers. In the most categorical manner they were informed: We shall build the plant in the very place where it was determined to build it. In other words, don't meddle in someone else's business! The process of democratization which has been developing in our country has been tripped up once again. And where? In the very highest spheres of legislative and executive power.

Incidentally, apparently bowing to the pressure of articles appearing in the mass information media, the RSFSR Minvodka [Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation] conducted an expert investigation of the condition of the Volga Basin in the area of the ZavolzhsK Chemical Plant. The result turned out to be staggering. It turns out that every year the plant dumps into the Volga about 9,000,000 cubic meters of untreated waste materials, part of which contain especially aggressive and practically non-neutralizable toxic substances. The plant is exceeding the annual norm for dumping chemically-active waste materials into the Volga by the hundredfold and even the thousandfold. Minvodka decided to shut down the enterprise. But the chemical officials managed to persuade someone higher up, and the plant is still operating and is destroying the Volga to this very day. The ministry of the chemical industry promises to build, in 1989, a complex for pumping the waste waters into deep underground pools. However, geological experts believe that this would threaten the poisoning of the underground waters of the region, into which the Volga flows as well.

One would think that the General Procurator of the USSR now has every reason to take an interest in the results of the ecological inspection of the Volga and the contiguous zone in the area of ZavolzhsK. After all, we are talking about the principal water artery of the European part of the country, with which the fate of millions of Soviet people is connected.

We began our struggle with the defense of the Shchelykov National Park from the encroachments of industry. But then we tugged on the thread, and suddenly discovered something that forces us to sound the very loudest alarm. This is already on the a scale of another dimension. The conclusion of the RSFSR Minvodka states that in this sector the Volga receives the very greatest

damage in the area of Zavolzhsk and Cherepovets. It is our profound conviction that the time has come to painstakingly investigate the great river from its sources to its delta. After all, the press is reporting more and more facts about threats to the very existence of the Volga. And to lose her—our benefactress—is to lose our lives.

Events which unfolded at Zavolzhsk just recently, attracted the attention of USSR Gosplan. Finally, our long-ago appeal was heard, to create a commission of experts to investigate the ecological feasibility of building the new production facility. One can only welcome this. But the question under discussion is so serious, and so significant on a national scale, that this question, in our opinion, must be taken up immediately by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and all commissions must be under its control.

In its resolution, "On Glasnost," the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference promoted the requirement "To practice public discussion of nation-wide and regional economic, national, youth, ecological, social and other problems." We fully support these words, and we are thus appealing in the present letter to the above addressees; but this time we are not sending it through the mail, and not via a package sent to the message center of the USSR Supreme Soviet staff, but publicly, in the pages of PRAVDA.

We request that this letter be considered a second official inquiry by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also from two creative societies of Russia, backed up with opinions of scientific authority as well as statements in the mass information media.

With great respect,  
S.V. Mikhalkov  
Hero of Socialist Labor,  
Chairman of the board, RSFSR Writers' Union,  
Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet;  
M.A. Ulyanov  
Hero of Socialist Labor,  
Chairman of the board, RSFSR Theatrical Society;  
Academician B.N. Laskorin  
Chairman, Committee for Environmental Protection,  
USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies;  
Academician M.M. Dubinin  
Hero of Socialist Labor.

#### More on Angarsk Pollution-Induced Illness, Plant Closure

18300169a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 5

[Article by G. Sapronov, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Correspondent: "The Plant Has Been Brought to a Standstill, But..."]

[Text] The plant has been brought to a standstill but the danger to the city has not yet passed. Workers at the city

headquarters for monitoring the environmental situation thought about this when I.F. Laptev, the chief sanitation inspector in Angarsk "sealed up" the protein-vitamin concentrate plant (BVK).

A month has passed since the mass poisoning of people occurred (see "A Mark of Disaster" in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 5 Nov 88). But the situation in Angarsk remains extremely tense. The number of townspeople seeking emergency medical assistance because of bronchial illnesses continues to be 1.7 times higher than the average daily norm. But what does "the norm" mean when we are no longer merely discussing health—the lives of hundreds of people are being threatened. The other day a woman passed away, who was among those 111 that were hospitalized during the days of the mass poisoning. According to the specialists' conclusion, "this patient's peculiarity was a polyvalent hypersensitivity to a whole list of chemical substances and protein-vitamin concentrates (BVK)."

Medical specialists from the Leningrad State Institute of Advanced Medical Studies under the direction of Professor V.B. Antonov were working in Angarsk according to the tasking of the USSR Ministry of Health. Their conclusions briefly consist of the fact that in the city even up to the present day "there remains a high risk of the recurrence of a massive number of cases of allergic bronchitis and bronchial spasmodic syndrome even given small emissions of the by-products of the protein-vitamin concentrate plant into the atmosphere". Incidentally, 30 percent of the sick and healthy children, which were examined by the commission, displayed a sensitivity to the protein papain which was above acceptable limits.

And that is why a decision of such importance was made by the city headquarters for monitoring the environmental situation (which has already worked incessantly for over a month).

There was no limit to the outrage of the work collective at the protein-vitamin concentrate plant. The energy, with which the workers and specialists defended the "honor and virtue" of their enterprise, was equal in strength to the wave of indignation, with which the community demanded the plant's closing. Only in this instance, some people were protecting their own narrow personal interests and others were defending the health and lives of thousands of people. Without a moment's thought about effective ways to improve a dramatic situation, the work collective's soviet "fitted out" a delegation directly to the "center", as was done in former times, apparently believing in the power of the capital. But Moscow did not buy the sob story—the messengers returned without accomplishing anything.

Then a whole group of workers from the USSR Ministry of Medical and Microbiological Industry, headed by the Deputy Minister M.M. Sobolev, arrived in Angarsk. It included medical doctors and leaders from scientific



institutions within the Ministry's of Medical and Microbiological Industry jurisdiction. As we have seen, they did not arrive at the time when hundreds of people were turning out every day at the city's "First Aid" station, but when the storm clouds hung over the well-being of the bureaucracy.

By the second day of its stay in Angarsk, "on the basis of becoming familiar with the actual state of affairs(1)", the commission presented the chairman of the city headquarters its own "particular" opinion: "We consider the closing of the plant inadmissible", "for all practical purposes albumin is nonexistent in the city", the order of the city's medical-epidemiological station "is not supported by any practicable or legal grounds".

It is true that the proportion of the protein-vitamin concentrate plant's discharges comprise a total of one percent of the total of all the harmful substances in the city's atmosphere. But what proportion of harmfulness does this one percent account for? In the experts' opinion, the protein-vitamin concentrate plant's discharges are the very same drop of poison, which was the determinant in the Angarsk drama. And afterwards, the protein-vitamin concentrate plant's closing was the most urgent, but only the first critical step in a planned program to improve the city's environmental situation.

But, as we have seen, the leaders of the Ministry of Medical and Microbiological Industry not only object to the closing of the plant, but they feel that it should work at a minimum of 60 percent of its capacity. The bureaucracy cited the same old arguments: the country will suffer irreparable economic damage. How many times can the bureaucracy by cloaking itself in the interests of the state, defend its own tranquility and well-being at the expense of public funds and the health and lives of the people?

The Angarsk Party gorkom and the office of the city's chief sanitation inspector receives phone calls every day from "high" instances: maybe you will change your decision, think about the plant's 1200 workers. But the city headquarters and the medical service in Angarsk stand firmly behind their decision, considering it to be singularly correct and impartial. For the present, the protein-vitamin concentrate plant will not be modified and the danger of discharges will not disappear and the decision will not be reversed. We are faced with a large task, there will be enough work for each of the plant's workers.

There can be no turning back on this issue. The reckoning in human lives has already begun. Who will be held accountable for this?

**Further Details on Chernovtsy Mass Poisoning**  
*18300169b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*  
*in Russian No 46, 16 Nov 88 pp 2, 11*

[Article by S. Kiselev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Special Correspondent: "What Happened in Chernovtsy"]

[Text] While we were all following the rescue of the whales, which were trapped under the ice, with unremitting attention, events were unfolding in the small Ukrainian city of Chernovtsy, which only a handful of people, not only in the country, but also in the republic, were aware of. What is being referring to is a massive affection of children, which hitherto has not been encountered in world medical practice.

A few days ago the cause of the illness, which caused children's hair to fall out, remained unknown. A score of institutes in the country have come up with approximately a score of hypotheses. A USSR Ministry of Health commission, led by A.A. Baranov, the USSR Deputy Minister of Health, has started its work in Chernovtsy.

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich stated,—The cause of the disease has been discovered. We are dealing with an illness, which is caused by a number of substances, such as aluminum, barium, lead, etc. Thallium—a chemical element of the third group in Mendeleyev's System, prevails among them. The clinic for disease and analysis and the thousands of samples of the air, water, soil, leaves, and the scrapings from roofs have shown that the level of these chemical elements, particularly thallium, here, in Chernovitsy and especially in the old section of the city, is either at the upper limit of the maximum allowable concentration or exceeds it.

Yes, as they would have said in the old days, thank God that the cause of the illness has been established. The 127 children, who have already taken ill, according to the contention of the commission members, are out of danger. They are all in medical institutions in Kiev and Moscow (except for two, whose parents would not allow them to be taken from Chernovtsy). The physicians' observations show that there are not any organic changes in the children (the youngest is 5.5 months and the oldest is 14 years old), that the insignificant doses of thallium, which were received by them, would not cause any serious chronic aftereffects whatever, and their hair would, undoubtedly, grow back.

But, alas, even this optimistic prognosis still has not brought calm, since the question of the source of the contamination remains obscure. The matter of the lead and aluminum is more or less understandable: a lead water main, which was installed long before Bukovina's reunification with the Soviet Ukraine, is still being used in the old section of the city; Chernovtsy, itself, is located

on alumina, rich with aluminum. As for a similar source of thallium contamination, we still have not been able to discover it. This means that the danger remains not localized.

There were several assumptions about the appearance of thallium. It is used at several local factories. But a thorough inspection of these enterprises, irrespective of their bureaucratic affiliation, showed that although the storage and inventory control of thallium at these places are very poorly organized, there was no leakage of it.

A discharge, which allegedly occurred at a chemical fiber plant in Romania, 70 kilometers from Chernovtsy, is causing apprehension. The USSR Ministry of Health and Ministry of Foreign Affairs are currently involved in clearing up this question. But the members of the workers' commission are particularly alarmed by the fact that in almost all the families where children got sick, there are automobiles, or these families live near cooperative garages. The point is that in Chernovtsy, 93rd benzene has not been on the market for a long time and it is supplied only to disabled people. Local "skilled merchants" have used this benzene in the trade of blended gasoline (30 rubles a bottle) and this is where the thallium comes in. The blended gasoline is added to the benzene in small quantities to raise its quality (octane rating). But the exhaust gases of automobiles, which have been refueled with this benzene, are fully capable of turning the old and therefore poorly ventilated section of the city into a toxic trap. The poisoning of the children (for the present no adult cases of the illness have been registered) are easy to explain physiologically in the following manner: they are simply smaller than adults and they walk around outside more frequently. In view of this, private and commercial vehicles are prohibited from entering the center of the city and the commission has closed 10 Chernovtsy enterprises, which were polluting the air.

Right now pregnant women will also be monitored very closely. Although medical specialists feel that the Chernovtsy situation should not affect their unborn children, we intend to conduct a thorough analysis. The commission applied to Geneva for consultation. Incidentally, UNESCO and UNICEF—the United Nations Children's Fund, which corroborated the hypothesis concerning affection by thallium, provided great assistance in the work of the USSR Ministry of Health commission.

The assertions that acid rains, which supposedly fell upon tiny Chernovtsy and namely on the old section of the city, were the initial cause of the poisoning caused doubt.

On the whole, no matter which hypothesis turned out to be correct, now one thing is perfectly clear: the final drop, which overfilled the cup of ecological forbearance, has fallen and the quantitative accumulation has turned into a qualitative displacement. Maybe, for the first time in many years, Chernovtsians have stopped to think

seriously about what they have done to their once incredibly clean and pleasant town. Many of them have suddenly realized with the utmost clarity that the crime committed today was no longer witnessed by a distant and abstract future generation, but by their own children. But there are so many cities in the country, where the environmental situation is even worse and more dangerous!

Today Chernovtsy is a city without children. According to the workers' commission's calculations, 15-17 percent of the preschool children and approximately 30 percent of the school-aged children remain in the city. Friends, when meeting on the street, after exchanging greetings, ask each other the question: "Where have you taken your son (daughter or children)?" It must be stated that one of the lessons of Chernobyl snapped into action: None of the supervisors prevented parents from taking a two-week vacation without pay—for the purpose of taking their children away from the city. No one accused them of alarmism. And A.A. Baranov, the chairman of the workers' commission, who recently appeared on local television, recommended not bringing the children back at least until the source of the contamination has been discovered, that is to say for approximately two more weeks. It should be noted with bitterness that in several cities in the republic and the nation, the Chernovtsy children were denied admission to schools and preschool institutions. The commission had to make special appeals to a number of instances and ask for something, which, it would seem, need not be asked for.

Incidentally, as the Bishop of the Chernovtsy and Bukovina Antoni reported to us, the faithful of his eparchy intend in the very near future to make a special purpose contribution of 30 thousand rubles to the Children's Fund—for the health care of the Chernovtsy children.

...And all the same a few words about glasnost. On the order of Comrade Kasyanenko, the Ukrainian SSR Deputy Minister of Health, who initially was leading the medical commission, local journalists were denied access to information and the cheerful and self-assured statements of the same Comrade Kasyanenko (at one time he so cheerfully expressed his opinion about the events in Chernobyl) provoked the justified indignation of the residents of Chernovtsy, who expressed their lack of confidence in him and demanded his removal from the commission.

The lack of glasnost gave rise to panic, crowds stormed the ticket counters at bus and railroad terminals and at the airport. Thanks to the selfless work of Chernovtsy journalists I. Agatiye, V. Finiv, and other of our colleagues, who overcame all obstacles and chevaux-de-frise, the oblast mass media reported without embellishments about the true situation in the city. Only after the USSR Ministry of Health workers' commission was headed by A.A. Baranov, did it begin to hold press conferences.

It is true that today nothing is being concealed from the residents of Chernovtsy. And nevertheless people lack complete confidence. You would agree: how should they, for example, interpret the report over All-Union radio that the whole city has already been washed clean, including the roofs, when they know that due to the weather conditions there, this work has just begun? And who would agree that it was right not to evacuate the children immediately and to only appeal for assistance from the outside a month and a half after the first alarming case of the illness?.. It is also true that for the present the Chernovtsians are experiencing far from the full measure of the promised improvement in the provision of food products.

In all likelihood, the fact that the medical supplies, which were recommended by the commission for the prophylaxis of the disease (activated charcoal, calcium preparations, and others) and which were delivered to the city's drugstores in an enormous quantity, were literally bought up in two days is explained by this very feeling of instability and distrust.

I would like to believe that we will soon succeed in eliminating the aftereffects of the disaster in Chernovtsy and that the medical experts are not mistaken in their optimistic prognoses. And that never again in the life of five-year-old Lesa Pospolitak will the incident, which her mother, Orysa Grigoryevna, a history teacher at the 23rd secondary school, related to us, be repeated: the little girl held her head all the time explaining: "So my hair will not fall out"...

#### **Officials Spar Over Claimed Ecological Threat to Lake Ladoga**

18300159a Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 p 2

[Letter by K. Rostislavlina, engineer: "Returning to What Has Been Printed: 'Ladoga: A New Threat'"]

[Text] In the letter of the representatives of the Leningrad community "Ladoga: A New Threat," published on 12 June, it was said that, according to the project developed by the Giprobum [State Institute for the Planning of Establishments of the Pulp, Paper and Hydrolysis Industries], it is being proposed to discard into Lake Ladoga the toxic wastes of the Priozerskiy Cellulose Plant that have accumulated in Lake Drozdovo.

After the statement of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and the discussion that developed at all levels, the understanding was reached that the dumping of millions of tons of toxic waste into Ladoga cannot be permitted. The Priozerskiy Gorispolkom, in an expanded session in which representatives of planners, scientific institutions, and control organs participated, adopted such a decision.

These events took place in June. But in September—a worried phone call to the correspondents' center. Yu. Leplinskiy, candidate of biology and senior scientific associate of the Academy for Forest Technology reported that the construction of the canal has been resumed.

"If neither press statements, nor the demands of a high scientific authority, nor the decision of an organ of Soviet power can help to put a stop to the preparation of an ecological crime, then what can help prevent the opening of the door and the spilling of the cup of poison into Ladoga?" is the reasonable question of Yuriy Ivanovich. "Moreover, for the installation of water-passing equipment, hundreds of thousands of rubles have been spent. Even if it does not work, those who conceived and built the canal will have to bear the responsibility."

With this one cannot but agree. But it is important to gain an understanding of how crimes against nature become possible. Some of them are the subject of reflection by the author of the letter that is published below.

Behind every act of ecological vandalism stand concrete people. Some of them possess considerable authority. Based on my experience, I have the right to say that they do not know or do not want to know about the real state of affairs in the sphere of water conservation, that disrespect for water legislation is not being stopped, in the best of cases it is passed over in silence, and sometimes it is encouraged. With such a level of glasnost, apprehensions arise that the situation can go according to the scheme "and Vaska listens, but eats away." The alarm intensifies, when you see the level of observation of state discipline by planners, builders, and those whose duty it is to control their actions, and when you assess the level of professionalism of all of the specialists named.

The contractor design "The Recultivation of Lake Drozdovo" in the section "Environmental Protection" is completely unsound. The numerous protocols of the various sessions and conferences, a whole series of which replaced energetic practical measures, only confirm this conclusion. The necessary engineering surveys were not carried out. There are no scientifically substantiated ecological prognoses. In a word: The cart is once again put before the horse: First the project and construction, then research and survey. Exactly like during the creation of a complex for the protection of Leningrad against flooding—dams.

But ecology, as is well known, does not tolerate approximateness. For this reason, expressing it elegantly, it is permissible to call the action of the chief engineer of the project, G. Ulfskiy, thoughtless. The chief engineer indicates through a memorandum in the project that the development was carried out in accordance with existing norms and regulations. But if we express it without elegance, then this is double-dyed irresponsibility and primitive fraud. I substantiate: The problem of the recultivation of Lake Drozdovo is a purely ecological



one, there are and can be no analogues to the project, because natural conditions are never repeated. In Priorsk they are specific and complex. What is more, in general, with respect to nature-transforming projects, such testimonies are out of place and unsound. A chief engineer does not have the right not to know this.

The motives remain unclear. What is this—delusion or aspiration to please the authorities? In any event, departmental interests proved to be stronger. Money vanished in the air. Who will be responsible?

However, for the sake of objectivity we must note that a share of responsibility falls also on O. Skarlato, the chairman of the inter-departmental coordination council of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, who issued recommendations to the planners. With all respect for O. Skarlato, I do not cease to be surprised why he took upon himself work that is uncharacteristic for him by profession and practical experience, when there are sufficiently highly-competent specialists in Leningrad.

Can one nevertheless resist the realization of the senseless ideas of planners that carry new ecological threats, the useless expenditure of human and material resources? The organs of the State Control for Water Use and Conservation is called upon to stand guard over water legislation. In our case, the Northwest Basin Territorial Administration for the Rational Use and Conservation of Water (SZBTU) of the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

The chief of SZBTU, M. Korolev, and the chief engineer, L. Chikureyev, did not coordinate the project for the recultivation of Lake Drozdovo. But when the meeting, conducted by the deputy chairman of the Leningrad Oblispolkom, N. Mokovkin, recommended to Glavzastroy [Main Administration for Construction in the Western Regions of the RSFSR Ministry of Construction] the execution of the work of the first stage even in accordance with the documentation not coordinated with Gosvodkontrol [State Control for Water Use and Conservation] (protocol of 22 January 1988), they occupied the unprincipled position of detached observers. Although it was completely necessary to carry the question to the higher authorities, where, it should be added, a competent solution was found. The executives of SZBTU occupied exactly the same position with respect to the dams. The calculation is simple: To object to those having power is dangerous, but when construction begins it will be very difficult to stop it.

To manage with such lack of principle is difficult. Instead of a pointed attitude to shortcomings, the managers of the administration manifest a pointed attitude to people who are trying, with the means accessible to them, to fight against complacency and ostentation.

By the decision of the Leningrad Oblast Council of People's Deputies "On the Work of the Soviet and Economic Organs of Leningrad Oblast for the Improvement of the Ecological Situation, the Conservation of Nature and the Rational Use of Natural Resources," the Leningrad Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences is being ordered to speed up the elaboration of scientific questions connected with the realization of the immediate tasks of the Ladoga Project and the creation of technical ecological safety systems of the Ladoga Lake—Neva—Neva Inlet basin. And on the newly created committee for the conservation of nature in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast state control over water use and conservation has been placed.

This one could only welcome, if it were not for one "but." If the new committee will act in the same way as the present managers of SZBTU, the best decisions will be useless. The acts of ecological vandalism will not stop.

#### Measures Planned To Reduce Krasnoyarsk Pollution

18300159b Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 45 Nov 88 p 17

[Article by V. Khrebtov, *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*'s own correspondent for Krasnoyarsk Kray, Tuva, Yakut, and Buryat ASSR's, and Irkutsk and Chita oblasts: "With Circumspection for the Future"]

[Text] Quite a number of readers, managers of enterprises, organizations, ministries and departments have responded to the publication of the article "What Does the City Breathe?" (No 6). Without exception, all authors assert: The ecological situation in Krasnoyarsk is difficult and demands the most rapid improvement.

The letters of most inhabitants of the city contain quite a few new examples of how large industrial enterprises of the kray center during night shifts and days off produce volley emissions of harmful substances into the atmosphere and into the Yenisey River. This is also indicated by facts from the "Ecological Diaries", which began to be published in the kray press after the statement of *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* with the article "What Does the City Breathe?"

And here today I would like to look at the problem from a different point of view: "What, concretely, is being undertaken for the improvement of the ecological situation in the Siberian city with a population of a million?

The executives of many ministries and departments send replies to the editors. Judging by these answers, there are no grounds for serious concern. For example, Ye. Petryayev, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, writes:

"At the Krasnoyarsk Tets-1 (Heat and Electric Power Station No 1) the replacement of obsolete ash-collectors with more efficient ones has been completed, the reconstruction of the hydraulic ash disposal system is being carried out, and equipment for the burning of fuel in boilers with a reduction of emissions of nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere.

At the Krasnoyarsk Tets-2... an experimental plant for the preliminary ionization of gases before the electrostatic precipitators of the boiler has been installed and adjustment work is being done. . ."

In actuality, the ash-collectors at Tets-1 for the planned capacity have not been removed, and the work on the reconstruction of the hydraulic ash removal system has been completed only to the extent of 74 percent, although its completion had been planned already in 1985. Things are not better at Tets-2.

Quite a few serious claims have been addressed by the newspaper to the Krasnoyarsk Cellulose-Paper Combine. In answer to the criticism, Yu. Guskov, the deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industries of that time, sent a letter in which he enumerated from dozens of already realized measures, which supposedly were conducive to the reduction of the emission of harmful substances into the atmosphere by 20 percent.

We showed this letter to specialists at the Krasnoyarsk regional inspection for the conservation of the atmosphere and heard as the reply: "All of these measures are of a technical character. They are aimed at the improvement of equipment operation, but in no way at the reduction of harmful substances."

These and some other official answers suggest the question: "Why was a departmental 'forgery' sent to the editors? Perhaps, in the hope that its employees will not begin to re-check the facts and, having published the replies, will moderate the passions of the townspeople. A naive illusion. But, you see, the economic situation in Krasnoyarsk is extremely acute. On 1 and 16 June meetings against the further pollution of the environment, involving many thousands of people, were held in the city. Their participants demanded from the local authorities the adoption of radical measures with respect to the violating enterprises. For the Krasnoyarsk Gorispolkom, these demands did not come as a surprise. After the publication of the article in the daily, the gorispolkom adopted the decision: "On Additional Measures to Prevent Pollution of the Atmosphere and Water Projects in the Krasnoyarsk Region."

For the first time in many years, a series of cardinal measures has been envisaged which will to a considerable extent help to lower the volumes of harmful emissions.

Thus, there must be a reduction of air pollution by the Kremenchugsky Automobile Plant through the reduction of aluminum production. It is also envisaged to organize, in the second half of 1988, an inter-departmental laboratory for the control of the atmosphere in the Leninskiy region through limits of the numerical size and wage funds of the enterprises of the region that pollute the atmosphere. Here is the instruction to the Krasnoyarsk Regional Inspection for the Protection of the Atmosphere and the city medical-epidemiological station to establish over the cessation of the operation of enterprises, factories and shops in accordance with the appendix.

In the appendix to the decision, eight enterprises and production capacities are set forth that are subject to closing on a day determined by the ispolkom. For example, the graphite factory will end its existence on 1 January 1989, and on this day production of sulphuric acid at the Yenisey Chemical Combine and of dry and zinc white of the the Khimbytprom [Household Chemical Industry] will be stopped. On 1 July already, the boiler [-based] confectionery-macaroni association ceased "to smoke a cloud."

"The adoption of this decision was preceded by rather strong psychological pressing on the part of some ministries," says the chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Gorispolkom Ye. Lobachev. "There were phone calls, the reception room was beleaguered by 'messengers.' All of them begged, tried to persuade, demanded, swore. . . . But we nevertheless remained firm. After the adoption of the decision, we officially reported it to the corresponding institutions and recommended not to plan the output of products for concealed capacities."

"Of course," Yevgeniy Semenovich continues, "to adopt such a radical document proved to be by no means a simple matter. But we were convinced of the correctness of the actions because they fulfilled the will of the Krasnoyarsk people."

The last words of the gorispolkom chairman appeared to us remarkable. The thing is that the construction of capacities without effective gas and water purification was in the years past carried out by ministries and departments with the tacit connivance of the local authorities. For example, more than two decades ago, electrolysis buildings were built at the same Krasnoyarsk aluminum plant, and the purification installations for them have been working unsatisfactorily all these years. As a result, the maximum admissible concentrations of harmful substances in the atmosphere have been exceeded tenfold.

But the psychological pressing about which Ye. Lobachev spoke, is becoming increasingly acute. Judge for yourself.

In the official response to the editors to the publication, the deputy chief of the Soyuzkhimvolokno [All-Union Industrial Association for the Production of Chemical Fibers of the USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry] writes:

"At the enterprise [the Krasnoyarsk Khimvolokno Production Association—Ed.], systematic work is being done for the protection of the environment. The largest of the measures carried out during 1984-1987 is the construction of installations for cleaning industrial emissions of hydrogen sulphide with a capacity of 350,000 cubic meters an hour and of carbon bisulphide with a capacity of 175,000 cubic meters an hour (1st phase). The effectiveness of the operation of the gas cleaning comes to: For hydrogen sulphide—98-100 percent, carbon bisulphide—92-96 percent. . . ."

We do not believe that an executive of such a high rank did not know about the true state of affairs in an enterprise within his jurisdiction. And it was very far from being all right. Here are the data of the specialists from the regional inspection for protection of the atmosphere: "At the present time, only the first phase of the gas cleaning installations with a capacity of 175,000 cubic meters of gas-air mixture per hour is operating in the Khimvolokno Production Association, with a total arresting of 20-24 percent of the harmful substances, which amounts to one-third of the projected capacity. . . . On some days, when the meteorological conditions are unfavorable, the excess of sanitation norms amounts to: For hydrogen sulphide—27 times, for carbon sulphide—30 times."

Having at their disposal these and other facts, the Krasnoyarsk Gorispolkom takes the decision to limit the production of viscose cord to 6,000 tons. In other words, it orders the enterprises to stop half of the ecologically most harmful capacities.

But how is to be with the workers, engineers, and technicians, who beginning on 1 January 1989 run the risk of being deprived of work and of losing their income, their place in the line for an apartment?

"I see one way out of this situation," says Ye. Lobachev. "The released workers must temporarily be assigned to the construction of housing and social, cultural and everyday projects for themselves, and during this time the construction and introduction of capacities of gas-cleaning installations at the plant must be accelerated."

Why, the chemists will have to solve the problem (with the help of the local Soviets), and on how principled and far-sighted a position they will occupy will depend both the financial-economic, the economic, and the ecological and social well-being of the Krasnoyarsk enterprise.

I would like to say a few words about the role of the law enforcement organs in the solution of ecological problems. Unfortunately, in this whole story they occupied the position of detached observers. Moreover, it is even difficult to call them observers.

At the request of the editors, the Yenisey Basin Administration for the Regulation of Water Use and Conservation prepared information, from which it appears: In the majority of cases, the organs of the krayprocuracy manifest red tape, and frequently leave without attention altogether the materials about the water use violations that are sent to them by Gosvodnadzor [State Water Inspection] officials. As an example, the following example is cited. In 1987, 9 of 13 materials that were addressed to them either were not examined or remained without answer. At the end of the information, the chief engineer, V. Magdalina states:

"In generalizing the course of the examination of the materials on the cases of water legislation violation, sent to the organs of the procuracy, the administration does not consider it expedient to turn in the future to the law enforcement organs of Krasnoyarsk Kray."

You agree, only extreme circumstances could incite the Krasnoyarsk water-transport workers to such a gesture of despair.

It should be noted that, after M. S. Gorbachev's trip to Krasnoyarsk Kray, the ispolkom of the Kray Council of People's Deputies has been actively conducting the development (concretely in terms of terms and enterprises) of an enumeration of immediate measures for the improvement of the ecological situation in the kray, which will be handed over to the USSR Council of Ministers. Already today it is clear: The greatest volume of work with respect to the reduction of harmful emissions into the atmosphere and the water basin will have to be carried out by the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry, and the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, as well as the RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services. The task is being set to lower, by 1990, to the permissible norms the effluents into the water basin, and by 1995—into the atmosphere.

. . . Yes, the time of management without a glance to the future, pernicious for nature and the health of people, has passed. Today everyone must manifest persistence and obstinacy in order to preserve the health of the Earth on which we live, eat, and breathe.



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